CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN ANKOLE, UGANDA:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT

OF EVANGELICAL ANGLICAN CHRISTIANITY

ON ETHNIC AND GENDER RELATIONS IN ANKOLE, 1901-1961

ALEX MUGISHA KAGUME

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ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF EVANGELICAL ANGLICAN CHRISTIANITY ON BAIRU-BAHIMA ETHNIC AND GENDER RELATIONS

Anglican Evangelical Christianity was a powerful force in the re-ordering of ethnic and gender relations in Ankole. These relations were traditionally characterised by stratification, the pastoral Bahima dominating the agricultural Bairu, and women having a markedly lower status than men.

The introduction of Anglican Christianity, after 1901, coincided with that of Roman Catholicism and also with the establishment of British rule and economic hegemony. These forces also significantly affected these relations, but the influence of Anglican Christianity was nevertheless decisive.

The Anglican CMS mission virtually ignored the Bairu and concentrated on the Bahima during the pioneer period. However, it eventually discerned a ready response to Christianity among the Bairu and redirected its strategy to embrace the two communities. In addition, Anglican Christianity was empowered by the East African Revival Movement which discounted the ethnic division between Bahima and Bairu and allowed women to participate in its meetings on an equal basis with men.

Increased social interaction between the two communities weakened the traditional sense of ethnic superiority enjoyed by the Bahima, particularly among the Bairu products of Anglican mission schools. These Bairu became intolerant of the Bahima's domination and sought to break it.

The Anglican mission discouraged the customary seclusion and veiling of Bahima women, and was also keen on establishing schools for girls. In its concern to create Christian homes it reinforced some of the traditional understanding of women's roles as it assumed that most of the girls were destined for motherhood and family life. Nevertheless, the domestic agenda went hand in hand with defending women against the oppression of polygamy, and with teaching about the Christian partnership in marriage which had far-reaching implications.

In conclusion, this thesis contends that the impact of Anglican Christianity on Ankole was essentially creative, a substantial force towards more egalitarian social relationships.

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I dedicate this work to my father, who sacrificed much to pay for my education for very many years.

DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work, and the views it contains are my own and not of the University of Bristol.

While registered as a candidate for which this submission is made, I have not been a registered candidate for another award of any other University.

Signed A.H. Kagume

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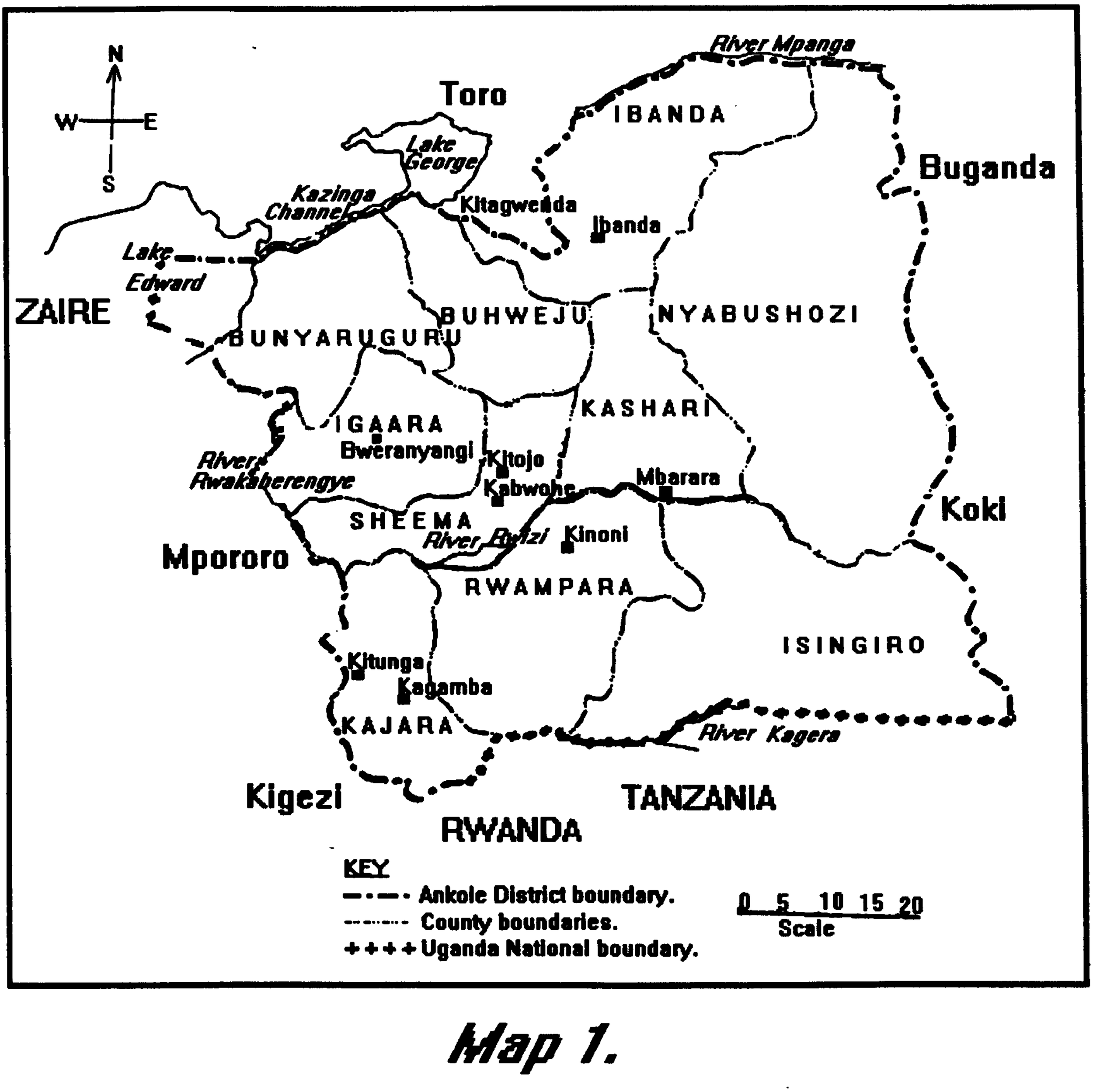
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CMS	Church Missionary Society
CMSA	Church Missionary Society Archives
COU	Church of Uganda
COUA	Church of Uganda Archives
DP	Democratic Party
IBEAC	Imperial British East Africa Company
IMCA	International Missionary Council Archives
NAC	Native Anglican Church
RC	Roman Catholic Church
UPC	Uganda Peoples Congress
UPU	Uganda Peoples Union

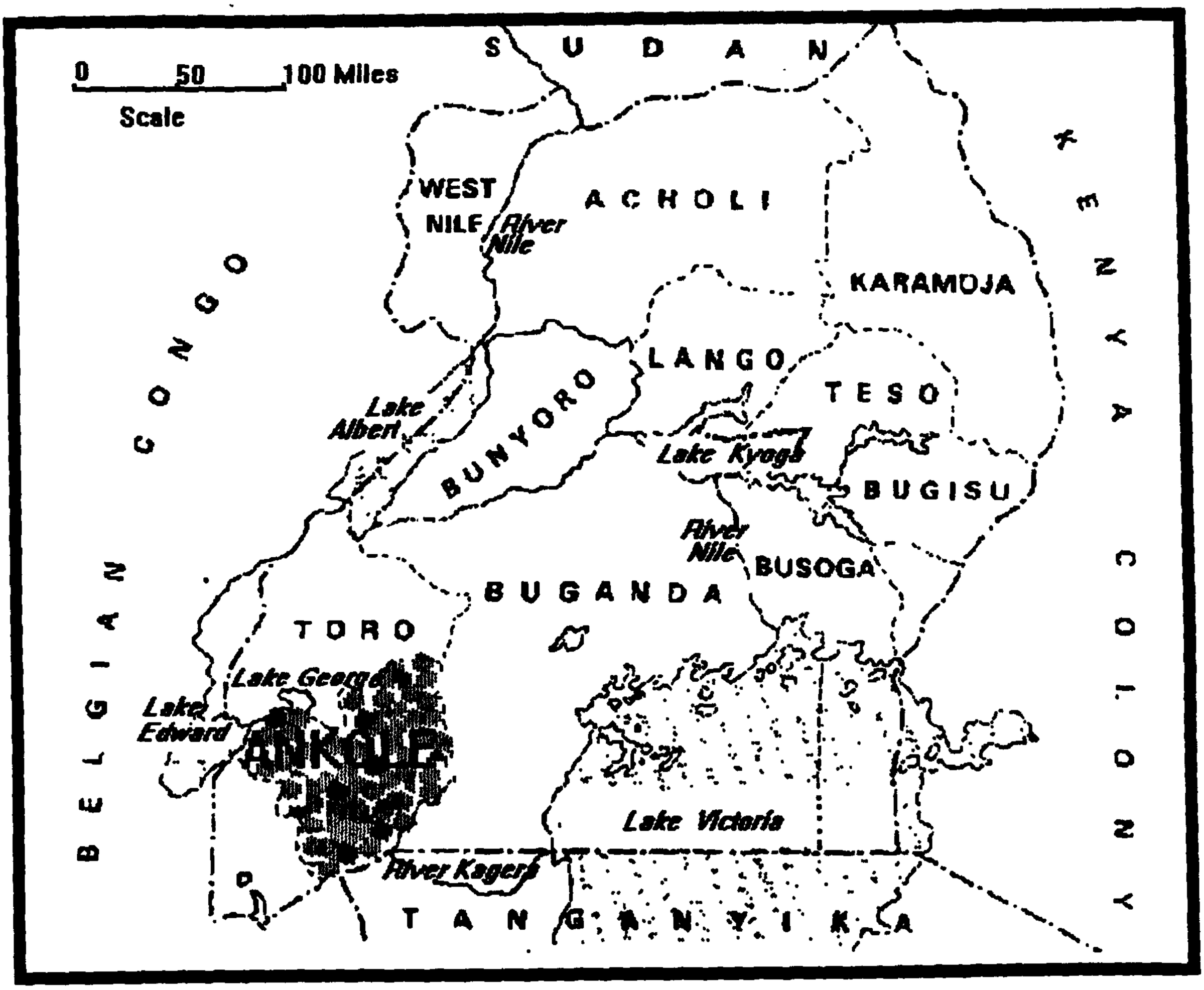
MAP OF ANKOLE

Showing the principal places mentioned in the text.



Map 1.

MAP OF UGANDA.1960
Showing the location of Ankole



Map 2.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

1.1 Background

Christian missions and churches played a vital role in the formation of contemporary Africa. Throughout the last century and the first half of this century, they established lasting connections with African peoples. Their stations amidst African communities became a major focus for rural African life, new centres for socialisation and for learning new ways of life. The church was one of the few places of intimate contact between Europeans and Africans; a prime instrument of cross-fertilisation of ideas between Africans and Europeans, and also among Africans themselves. According to this perspective, the Christian impact on African societies was an essentially beneficial influence.

An alternative perspective on the European missions and the newly-founded churches is, however, more negative in emphasis. Sometimes Africans met with contempt and humiliation from the European missionaries and church leaders. Parading themselves as masters, missionaries treated their African converts as 'boys', regardless of age. Wittingly or unwittingly, they often served as fore-runners of, and collaborators with European aggression, as they hastened the advent of European rule to their areas of operation in order to establish good conditions for their proselytizing activities.

These two perspectives have been presented in case studies of the history of the church in Africa. Some of these are worth citing here because they have been part

of the incentive for this study: Oliver (1952); Ajayi (1965); Ayandele (1966); McCracken (1977); Hastings (1979); Clarke (1986). Oliver's is a broad survey of the Christian missions in the history of East Africa, from a Western viewpoint, that is, it is written in terms of what Europeans did or did not do in East Africa; a "foray into the field of missionary history in East Africa".[1] Ajayi emphasizes the emergence of educated Africans as the major contribution of the Christian missions in the making of Nigeria, while Ayandele also focuses on their social and political influence in Nigeria. McCracken examines the impact of the Livingstonia Mission on political and economic developments in Malawi. Hastings is a "fairly straight history of contemporary African Christianity" concentrating on "how the Christian churches have come through the era of African (*sic*) decolonisation";[2] and Clarke's is a general survey of how Christianity "has both influenced and been influenced by the economic, political, social and cultural developments in West Africa".[3]

Some studies have been published about the positive impact of missionary activity and Christianity in general in Uganda: Pirouet (1978); Byabazaire (1979); Tourigny, (1979), Tuma (1978, 1980); and Hansen (1984). However, more work is much needed in this area, particularly with regard to the church and socio-political development. As Hansen has observed, it is important that such studies be regional so as to overcome the problem of the cultural and linguistic diversity of Ugandan society.[4] The Anglican mission and church and the British administrators worked in comparative harmony in Uganda.[5] The major points of disagreement which arose between the missionaries and British administrators in other parts of Africa did not arise in Uganda. Both parties were committed to the indigenous political structures for their operations; and the British administration was more willing to cooperate with

the new Christian converts than with the old champions of the traditional order.[6]

This background has been exploited by some writers to the extent of over-looking, if not denying, the positive contributions that the church has made in the development of Uganda, particularly in the socio-political sphere. For example, according to Bitek,[7] Christianity in Uganda, with particular reference to Acholi, was chiefly an instrument of alienation, domination and destruction of what was essentially African; a covert agent of imperialism and colonialism. The same view has been presented by Kasenene,[8] and Tiberondwa.[9]

It is within this context that this regional study has been undertaken, to examine the impact of Anglican Christianity on the Bairu-Bahima ethnic and gender relations in Ankole.

1.2 Context

1.2.1 Geographical Setting

The region of Ankole lies just south of the equator, and it covers an area of 6144 square miles.[10] To the east it borders Buganda, in the plains of Nyabushozi; there is no obvious physical feature which marks this boundary. In the west, the River Rwakaberengye and the hills of Rwahi are a natural border between Ankole and Kigezi. In the south, the River Kagera separates the region from the Republics of Rwanda and Tanzania. To the north Ankole borders Toro, and the border is naturally formed by Lakes Edward and George, the Kazinga channel and the hills of Kitagwenda.[11]

The whole of the western, and some of the southern and northern parts of

Ankole are generally hilly. This hilly part comprises the counties of Bunyaruguru, Igara, Buhweju, parts of Sheema, of Kajara, of Rwampara and of Ibanda. These counties have a fairly heavy amount of rainfall and rich vegetation. They are also heavily populated, except for Buhweju and Bunyaruguru, which have had little access to a network of motor roads. In contrast, the central and eastern part of Ankole is a plateau, with small rolling hills. It covers the counties of Kashari, Isingiro, and Nyabushozi. Its rainfall is moderate, and it is rich in short grass. Most of this area is sparsely populated. According to the 1959 national population census, Ankole had an African population of 529,712 of which 519,283 were reckoned to be the indigenous *Banyankore*.[12] According to this census three quarters of this population lived in the western part of the district.

1.2.2 Socio-Political Setting before Christian Contact

Ankole was not traditionally a single political unit but was divided into a number of semi-autonomous kingdoms - Nkore, Buhweju, Igara, and Buzimba. Nonetheless, the political history of these states was interrelated. By the last half of the nineteenth century, the kingdom of Nkore had become more powerful than the rest of them and her suzerainty had been recognised by all.[13] According to Morris, the Kingdom of Nkore was originally a small area, and had comprised just a little more than the county of Isingiro.[14] The first notable expansion in the size of the kingdom began during the reign of Ntare Kitabanyoro about 1700.[15] In fact *Kitabanyoro* (killer of *Banyoro*) was a nickname which the king had received for having decisively defeated the invading armies of Cwamari, the *Omukama* of Bunyoro. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Nkore expanded into the areas of Kashari, Ibanda, Nyabushozi,

Nshara and Kabula. Under the reign of Ntare Mwene Kibooga (1864-1895), Nkore brought the neighbouring kingdoms of Buhweju, Igaara and Buzimba within its political orbit.[16]

The British colonial administration, which arrived at the end of the nineteenth century, enhanced this traditional imperialism, and formally incorporated the other kingdoms into the Kingdom of Nkore.

The indigenous people of pre-Christian Nkore, and all the other kingdoms which were incorporated into it, consisted of two main ethnic groups: the Bairu and the Bahima. The Bairu were agriculturalists, and depended on the cultivation of food crops. They formed the overwhelming majority, who were the original inhabitants of the region,[17] a point that was somehow doubted in the 1960s and 1970s[18] but has been reasserted in the 1980s. As recently as 1989, Turyahikayo-Rugyema wrote, "The original inhabitants in the case of Ankole were agriculturalists known as Bairu - now as the 'Banyankole' because of their earlier settlement in the area".[19]

The Bahima presented a sharp contrast to the Bairu. They were a pastoral and nomadic group. They kept cattle and did not grow any crops. They invaded or became distinct in the region at least three or four centuries ago.[20] Egypt and Ethiopia have been suggested as their countries of origin but this is unsupported by any evidence. The Bahima were also fewer in number than the Bairu. Since the taking of population censuses began in the colonial times, they have been reckoned to make up about ten per cent of the total population. According to Musa Mushanga, the Bairu were between ninety-two and ninety-six per cent, and the Bahima the rest, of the *Banyankore* population in 1959.[21] However, the Bahima were the rulers in Nkore and all the other states, and the Bairu played hardly any part in the political

leadership.

The Bairu and the Bahima shared more or less the same religious beliefs and practices. There were also some customs which both groups held in common. They spoke the same 'Bantu' language, now known as *Runyankore*. It is believed that this language was originally spoken by the Bairu, and that the Bahima took it up after the conquest.[22] Both groups also had more or less the same *enganda* (clans) structure: patrilineal, totemic and exogamous.[23] As defined by Mushanga, *enganda* were reference categories, members of which did not know one another. Each *oruganda* (a clan) had its own *omuziro* (totem) which acted as a common bond for all its members, and distinguished the members from the other clans as well. Nonetheless, the Bahima and Bairu of the same clan have the same *Omuziro* but different names for the clan.[24] Similarly, the religious structure was more or less the same among both the Bairu and the Bahima.

1.3 Bairu-Bahima Relations

Bairu-Bahima relations in Nkore and all the other states were not mutual or cordial. They were characterised by a common pattern of social stratification in which the Bahima dominated the Bairu. On the whole, whereas the pioneering generation of scholarly interpretation on the subject exposed this domination, the subsequent generation of scholarship tried to neutralize and conceal it. These previous interpretations will be outlined.

1.3.1 Previous scholarly interpretations

Exploitation, symbiosis, separation and co-existence are the various models which, at one time or another, have been used by writers on the subject to describe the nature of Bahima-Bairu relations.

The earliest scholars in the field fully believed that before the European influence in Ankole, the Bahima lorded it over the Bairu.[25] They discerned the presence of exploitation between the two. According to Oberg, the exploitation of the Bairu by the Bahima was self-evident. The Bahima were the rulers while the Bairu were their serfs. He also states that, "to the Bahima the word 'Bairu' signifies serfdom, a legal status inferior to that existing between themselves".[26] Investigating the nature of this exploitation Oberg noted:

> The exploitation between the Bairu and the Bahima took the form of tribute payments in food and labour and for this purpose the Bahima tended to keep them in subjection.[27]

Later on, this theory of exploitation was modified, so that the relationship between the Bairu and the Bahima was described in terms of symbiosis.[28] According to Stenning, the Bairu and the Bahima for a period in history, while not intermarrying, carried on a kind of mutual interdependence. They exchanged the products of their livelihood. On the part of the Bairu these were cereals, beer, and craft products, namely spears, knives, axes, bowls and pots. Milk, meat, skins and manure were what formed the stock of exchange from the Bahima.[29]

However, despite Stenning's emphasis on cooperation and interdependence between the Bairu and the Bahima, he also recognised the element of social inequality that existed between the two groups. He recognised that the Bairu were directly subservient to the Bahima, and the Bairu generally enjoyed fewer rights and privileges

than did the Bahima in contact between the two groups.[30] He also noted that "the legal and economic status of Iru was inferior to that of Hima".[31] On the legal front the Bahima were allowed to exact blood vengeance from the Bairu, but the Bairu were not allowed to do likewise from the Bahima.[32]

Professor S.R. Karugire, however, accused earlier researchers of distorting the history of the relations between Bairu and the Bahima.[33] His interpretation swung the pendulum completely in the opposite direction. He denied the existence of exploitation of the Bairu by the Bahima:

> Thus it appears fairly certain that the economic relations between Bairu and Bahima were based on mutual exchange of the goods produced by each and that their occupations were made mutually exclusive by the environmental conditions rather than by ethnic superiority or inferiority.[34]

In the place of the traditional picture of social stratification, he advanced a theory of social mobility and co-existence between the two groups. He held that Ankole was an open class society with a social mobility based on wealth, which was measured in terms of cattle ownership, and that some Bairu could acquire cattle, marry Bahima women and after about three generations could become Bahima. Conversely, if a Muhima lost cattle and consequently became poor, he would become a Mwiru.[35]

Karugire's theory about social mobility and co-existence was first challenged by Professor Y. Elam, who carried out research among the Bahima of Ankole's county Nyabushozi. Elam advanced the theory of separation between the Bairu and the Bahima.[36] He pointed out that Karugire's theory of co-existence was contrary to Karugire's own experience of the incompatible way of life between the Bairu and the Bahima:

> His own recollections did not deter Karugire from stating categorically that cows' milk, among other products of the Hima, was in considerable

demand among the Bairu.[37]

Elam argued that there were no extensive exchange relationships between the two groups. The exchange that there was, was limited and temporary. He further contended that contacts between the two groups were very rare.[38]

In stressing the separate nature of existence between the Bairu and the Bahima, however, Elam did not deny the social inequality that existed between the two groups. He noted that the Bahima counted the Bairu as inferior to themselves. He recognised that the Bahima held "an extremely condescending and negative attitude towards the Iru", and that there was a "strong sense of Hima superiority over the Iru"[39] symbolised by the exclusion of the Bairu from the political structure of the Ankole Kingdom.

Doornbos also showed that Karugire had exaggerated the mobility and openness of Ankole society.[40] According to Doornbos, there was both co-existence and exploitation between some sections of the Bairu and the Bahima, although this did not apply equally to all the Bairu and the Bahima:

> As a result, while it would be erroneous to conceive of their relation-ship as one that was rigidly patterned or as one that placed every single Mwiru in a directly surbordinate position to a Muhima, neither can the proposition be held that members of the two groups had equal chances in an open and socially mobile society.[41]

However, available evidence indicates that even Doornbos minimised the domination and exploitation of the Bairu by the Bahima. This exploitation and domination was not just limited to certain sections of the population only, as Doornbos contended, but was the common pattern of social stratification in the region in which the Bahima exploited and dominated the Bairu. This social stratification had been deeply ingrained in the political and oral history, and economic and educational

systems, and religious traditions of the Bairu and the Bahima.

1.3.2 Traditional History

The received political history of Nkore and the other kingdoms indicated that political leadership had always been in the hands of the Bahima, and that the Bairu were rightly excluded from it. Like other ancient histories, the political history of these kingdoms was enshrined in myths and legends which showed that it was a Bahima's birth right to rule over the Bairu. The beginning of these kingdoms is traditionally ascribed to a divine origin, and associated with the semi-legendary beings known as the *Abacwezi*.[42] It was commonly believed that these kingdoms, and those of Bunyoro and Rwanda, had been founded by the *Abacwezi* who ruled them around the fourteen and fifteenth centuries (A.D.) and later mysteriously disappeared.[43] Before the *Abacwezi* disappeared altogether, so the belief goes, they left behind the Bahima rulers to run their states, and the nineteenth century Bahima kings who ruled in these kingdoms were believed to have been their successors.[44]

The question of whether the *Abacwezi* ever existed has understandably been a point of contention. C.C. Wrigley denied any modicum of historical credibility to the accounts about the *Abacwezi*. According to him, all the stories about the *Abacwezi* were false, and the *Abacwezi* never physically lived anywhere in central Africa:

> Thus I suggest that the stories told of the Bacwezi cannot throw any direct light on the history of Central Africa, because the Bacwezi never existed except in the imaginations of men.[45]

However, while recognising that the stories about the *Abacwezi* may not lead to historical conclusions, other writers have not been as dismissive about them as Wrigley. Writing on Bunyoro, which also shared in these stories about the *Abacwezi*,

J. Beattie acknowleged the stories as a source of traditional history which may have real connections with actual historical events.[46]

Moreover, the scepticism about the actual existence of the *Abacwezi* has been somewhat reduced by archaelogical research in the ancient earthworks at Bigo, in Mubende district. Bigo had been traditionally identified as the centre or capital of the *Abacwezi* empire in the interlacustrine region. The research has confirmed that there was a settlement at Bigo in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the *Abacwezi* are also thought to have been the rulers in and around the region.[47] Having examined the results of the archaeological research evidence, E.C. Lanning maintained that, despite the lack of documentary and material evidence, there is a possibility that the *Abacwezi* were the authors of the earthworks:

> With these great earthworks bearing a mute testimony of some considerable activity and extensive occupation in the past, it is very hard not to search for the answer in one of the most likely of local legends. That which proffers the most tempting bait is the story of the Bacwezi, who, mysteriously or not, arrived in the area and later, either departed or were absorbed, at a period perhaps some four to six hundred years ago.[48]

Although scepticism about the historicity of such legends is a product of modern times and assumptions, the stories about the *Abacwezi* were traditionally presented as facts about the genealogies of the Bahima kings in Nkore and the other kingdoms. Indeed, S.R. Karugire drew heavily from them in writing his book about the history of Nkore before its serious contact with the Europeans. Defining his chief source material for the study, Karugire declared:

> The actual raw material of this study consists of stories about the genealogy of kings, factual information historically associated with particular reigns, events, and individuals, and to some extent, songs and recitations.[49]

In fact, in these kingdoms, the stories about the *Abacwezi* and the Bahima as their descendants were strongly believed by both the Bairu and the Bahima to have some foundation in history. For example Z.C.K. Mungonya, *(Omwiru)* writing about the *Abacwezi* stated:

> The Bachwezi were not like the other men but were gods, for although they were not born of women they had unending life and knew neither sickness nor death. They eventually decided to leave the kingdom of the world because they thought it had been defiled.[50]

In these kingdoms, the existence of the *Abacwezi* was part of traditional religious beliefs and folklore. The Bahima used these stories about the *Abacwezi* to legitimize their rule over the Bairu. They claimed to have inherited from the *Abacwezi* their instruments of political power, the royal drums. The names of these drums were: *Bagyendanwa* for Nkore, *Mashaija* for Buhweju, *Bitunto* for Buzimba, and *Kihoza* for Igara. The higher levels of political leadership and administration were held by certain royal Bahima clans. In Nkore the Bahima royal clan was the *Abahinda*; in Buhweju and Buzimba it was the *Abarisa*; and in Igara it was the *Beenemafundo*.[51] However, some members from the non-royal Bahima clans could also acquire political offices but few Bairu, if any, did. Occasionally, a few Bairu became *Abaranga*, collectors and carriers of tribute for the Bahima.[52]

The major role of the Bairu was to provide the kingdoms with a labour force, to perform menial tasks for the Bahima, some of which were not only exploitative but also dehumanizing. According to Rugyema, "when a Mugabe wanted to have sex with his wife there were certain Bairu stationed at the Mugabe's residence to assist both partners that is wife and husband in their sexual intercourse".[53] Rugyema goes on to say that the Bahima had set aside the Bairu of the *Basingo* clan specifically to carry

out this and other demeaning tasks of the Omugabe:

> A Mugabe chose individuals from this clan (Basingo clan) to spit in their mouths. A Mugabe could not spit on the ground. Neither could his spear go into the soil. It always rested in the flesh of someone's foot, and he had to be a Musingo (singular).[54]

The Bairu also supplied the kingdoms with spears and arrows, the chief weapons of defence, and also with religious expertise.

1.3.3 The economic system

As has been indicated, the Bairu and the Bahima had two different types of livelihood, and each group's economy was according to its livelihood. On the one hand, in addition to the growing of food crops, some of the Bairu kept goats and sheep for domestic use, as a source of supply for skins and meat. The skins were a great resource for the clothing of both men and women. Most of the Bairu supplemented their domestic skins and meat with additional supplies from wild game through hunting, and also from their Bahima neighbours.

On the other hand, the Bahima mainly reared cattle, and their whole life revolved around cattle. In addition to cattle, the Bahima kept sheep which grazed with their herds of cattle. These sheep were for religious purposes only, because sheep skins and mutton were a taboo to the Bahima.[55] Sheep were used in sacrifice, and were believed to offer protection against cattle diseases. Accordingly, the belief was that cattle epidemics could divert to sheep and leave the herds of cattle safe.[56]

Although the Bahima did not physically take part in agriculture, they could not do without agricultural products because in the times of scarcity of milk during the dry season a Muhima could eat agricultural food, especially *oburo* (finger millet) supplied to him by the Bairu.[57] In fact, Karugire tells of itinerant Bairu

agriculturalists who lived in the vicinity of the Bahima kraals, growing seasonal food crops, and keeping moving with the Bahima nomads.[58] Karugire seems to suggest that these Bairu lived in that way in order to get access to the dairy products from the Bahima. Nevertheless, it is also fair to say that their presence replenished the nomadic Bahima with agricultural food. It can be surmised that owing to the nature of their nomadic life these Bahima could not get agricultural supplies from the rest of the settled Bairu communities.

Nonetheless, the Bahima subjected the Bairu's agricultural economy to their own pastoral economy. They elevated cattle to be the supreme denominator of wealth. They made cattle the standard measure of time for the day, that is, the time of day was described in terms derived from the activity of cattle at that time.[59]

Furthermore, cattle became the measure of wealth and prestige, and cattle ownership was the most important traditional status index. The number of cattle owned by an individual determined his status.[60] The Bahima kings in the region ruled by virtue of having the largest number of cattle in comparison with the rest of the other Bahima. It was the number of cattle an individual chief owned that determined his position and status in the chiefs' assembly with the Omugabe.

Having elevated cattle to be the chief source of economic, political and social power, the Bahima did all they could to monopolise cattle, and to prevent the Bairu from owning them. First, they would not allow the Bairu to own productive cows.[61] They made cattle ownership antagonistic to the Bairu's way of life and diet. They claimed that vegetable food was dangerous to cattle health, that the Bairu as vegetable eaters would endanger the productivity and life of cows when the Bairu drank their milk. For example, Roscoe was told that:

> If a man ate potatoes or beans, he had not only to fast twelve hours but also had to take a purgative to ensure that all contaminating matter had left his system before he drank milk again.[62]

Therefore, the Bairu were allowed to own only oxen or non-productive cows, usually those commonly known as *obutembane* (the inbreed), and the *ebicura* (old cows).

Secondly, the Bahima made the process through which the Bairu could acquire even the unproductive cows and bulls very complicated. The process was overlaid with so many obligations that "when and how a Mwiru obtained the cow depended on the whims of the Muhima".[63] The common means whereby some Bairu could own cows was through *okugabisa* (cattle loan) from their Bahima neighbours. By this system, the Omwiru took a pot of *amarwa* (local beer) and a basket of millet to *Omuhima*. However, the Bahima exploited the Bairu through the system, and got a lot of goods from the Bairu, worth more than the cows the Bairu received. The *Omuhima* kept on requiring the *Omwiru* to repeat his visits time and again before granting him the cow. The system was such that on each of the visits, the *Omwiru* had to carry something to the Omuhima. In fact, these visits became so prolonged that they became a means of reminder that the cow was due rather than a means of getting it, and were termed *okususya omuhanda* (checking on the way).

Furthermore, cattle loan put the Bairu recipients into the full power of the Bahima's exploitative process. The *Omuhima* donor continued to make continued visits to the *Omwiru* recipient on the pretext of coming to see "his cow". He did not bring anything to the *Omwiru*, but the *Omwiru* had to entertain him, and to give him food (millet) and beer. It was difficult for the *Omwiru* to resist this exploitation because he desperately wanted the cow either for making marriage payments or for religious ceremonies or sacrifices. As will be shown, the Bairu venerated Bahima divinities

which sometimes demanded cows for communion.[64]

By denying the Bairu access to productive cattle, the Bahima starved them economically, and placed them in an inferior economic and social position. The Bairu could neither accumulate wealth nor acquire the same social status as the Bahima.

1.3.4 Religious Beliefs

Some aspects of the religious belief also provided an ideological framework for the Bahima domination over the Bairu. Among the many religious beliefs of the Bairu and the Bahima three were central. These were the belief in the existence of the supreme creator power (*Ruhanga*), belief in the *emandwa* (*Abacwezi* spirits) cults, and belief in the *emizimu* (ancestral spirits) cults. Two of these three foundational beliefs directly supported the Bahima domination of the Bairu.

First and foremost in this ideological support was the belief in the existence of the supreme power. This power was known as the creator and maker of the world (*Ruhanga-Nyamuhanga*), as the great giver (*Rugaba*), and sustainer and ever present being (*Kazooba*).[65] However, it was the creation image of this supreme power (*Ruhanga Nyamuhanga*) that was the most common of all. This image had been skilfully connected to the stories about the origins of the Bairu and the Bahima, in order to sanction the view that the Bairu were inferior to the Bahima, by claiming that the creator intended the former to be ruled over by the latter. The most prominent of these stories was called "Ruhanga and His three sons".[66]

According to this story, *Ruhanga*, the creator of all things, descended from *iguru* (*Ruhanga's* place of abode in the sky) to earth and lived there. Three sons were born to him. Wishing to give them names, and to establish which of them would be

his worthy heir on earth, as he wished to return to heaven, he set them a test. He took three milk pots, filled them to the brim, and gave them to the sons. Each of the sons was instructed to keep guard of his milk pot throughout the night. The milk pots were supposed to remain full until the morning. Midway through the night the youngest son slumbered and spilt some of his milk but his brothers filled up his milk pot out of sympathy. Then, just before dawn the eldest son fell asleep and his pot upset and all his milk spilled. He called upon his brothers to help but they refused.

In the morning *Ruhanga* called them to find out how they had fared. Finding the milk pot of the youngest son full, that of the eldest empty, and the other half empty, he decreed as follows; the youngest son was to be Kakama (ruler); he and his descendants were to be rulers over his brothers and their descendants; the second son was to be Kahima (herdsmen) and so were his descendants; the eldest son was to be Kairu (servant) of his brothers and so were his descendants. Having done so, *Ruhanga* left the earth and returned to his place of abode in the sky.

The underlying philosophy in this story was that the ethnic groupings of the Bairu and the Bahima in the region were by choice of the Creator. The story provided an ideological foundation for the Bairu and Bahima ethnic groups as being distinct social categories. Ideally, the Bahima were by birth of higher social status than the Bairu. As Beattie pointed out:

> In the last resort, what the myth validates is not just this or that particular kind of status difference, but rather the 'rightness' of all such distinctions based on birth. Although in the myth the original discrimination was based on achievement, what it validates is a system in which statuses are ascribed and not achieved.[67]

So this religious belief about the supreme power ideologically authenticated the social stratification in which the Bahima dominated the Bairu.

Apparently, the meaning of the account of *Ruhanga* returning to the sky was not as the early missionaries believed that it signified that the creator had withdrawn his presence from the world of men and severed his contact with them.[68] As Kwesi Dickson has noted, such myths which told of the Creator's departure from the world of men were common in traditional Africa, and they did not mean that for the African 'God' was a redundant notion.[69] Both the Bairu and the Bahima still believed that *Ruhanga* could listen to them, and they could hear from him as well. Although Ruhanga did not have priests and places of public worship, prayers were occasionally addressed to him. He was asked to intervene at certain times.[70] Although Byabazaire[71] and Maari[72] have denied that *Ruhanga* received offerings, some informants in Ankole said that he did.[73] It is said that occasionally, from the offerings being made to the *emandwa*, a certain portion was given to *Ruhanga*. For *Ruhanga* the offerings were thrown up in the air, and the act was accompanied with these words:

> *Ebi n'ebyaawe Nyamuhanga* (these are yours Nyamuhanga).
> *Ebi n'ebyaawe Kazooba* (these are yours Kazooba).
> *Ebi n'ebyaawe Rugaba* (these are yours Rugaba).

The *emandwa* cults were another aspect of the traditional beliefs that formed an ideological base for the Bahima's domination of the Bairu. The *emandwa* cults were the spirits of the great *Abacwezi*. It is not clear how these cults came into being. It has been suggested that the cults developed gradually from the first good impressions about the *Abacwezi* from their contemporaries. Those images were then passed on to the following generations who began looking back to the *Abacwezi* in reverence for blessings in their earthly life.[74] The cults were then boosted by the Bahima ruling clans as a means of legitimising their rule over the former subjects of the *Abacwezi*.[75] As the ruling Bahima clans in the region claimed their descent from the *Abacwezi* and

claimed also to have inherited from the *Abacwezi* their royal drums, the Bahima made the cult a vehicle for giving their ancestors and implicitly themselves a heroic status.[76]

The *emandwa* cults were personified in the names of the past *Abacwezi* kings (divinities). The most notable of them were: Ndahura, Wamara, Mugasha, Kagoro, Kyomya, and Murindwa.[77] The cults ran in *Ebika* (extended families). Every *ekika* (extended family), among both the Bairu and the Bahima, had its own personified *emandwa* but by nature, the *emandwa* were complementary - not jealous of each other or exclusive. If one *emandwa* was unable to cope with a certain crisis, its clients could consult another *emandwa* without insulting or provoking its anger. This complementary element had the potential to aid the advent of Christianity in the region.

At least one person in the household was dedicated to the *emandwa*, and was taught the language of that particular *emandwa*, because every *emandwa* had its own secret working language. The dedication was through an initiation ceremony, presided over by an *omutendeki* (who acted as sponsor and *emandwa* specialist instructor), and attended by only those who had already undergone it before. This ceremony consisted of tough and laborious rituals on the part of the initiates, and lasted for about a week. Describing part of its ordeal, Bamunoba and Welbourn wrote:

> The candidate behaves as a child. Mucus drips from his nose. He collects pebbles and tries to build with them, climbs walls, carries bananas on his back and grinds sand as though it were millet. He sits on people's laps, pretends that he cannot talk, goes about naked and puts almost anything in his mouth.[78]

It was believed that the initiates emerged with a new personality at the end of the ceremony. They had learnt a new language of their *emandwa*, and had attained the status of *omugirwa* (priest) of that *emandwa* within their family. It is reckoned that most of the *abagirwa* (*emandwa* priests) were women.

Chiefly, the role of the *emandwa* was to ensure health and wellbeing within the homestead - the people, animals and crops. Stenning described them as the "permissive, benevolent and optimistic aspect" of traditional religion of the Bahima.[79] Nonetheless, when neglected, the *emandwa* could show their anger and displeasure by causing ill-health within the homestead.

The third major feature of the religious beliefs of the Bairu and the Bahima, the *emizimu* cults, was an area which seemed to have maintained some independence from the ideological influence of the Bahima, though it was ill-fitted to be the focus of unity for the Bairu. This was the case because the *emizimu* cult focused on individual families. The *emizimu* were the spirits of the family's ancestors. It was believed that at death the individual turned into a spirit in order to continue to exist and to get into communion with the living members of his family. Everybody in the family participated in the acts for venerating their own ancestors. This relationship of communion lasted as long as the family members, who had seen and known the owner of the *emizimu* (an ancestral spirit) during his physical existence, lived. When these family members were no more, the *omizimu* (a spirit) was forgotten and it disappeared into oblivion.[80]

Emizimu cults were, therefore, basically a family activity. Unlike the *emandwa* cults which cut through families and ethnic groups, the influence of the *emizimu* cults was much more limited. Every family had its own ancestral shrines and venerated its own ancestors. The *emizimu* were the guardians and custodians of the moral values in their respective families. Their role was to enforce this moral order in their families, but the living, aware of the unsatisfactory nature of their moral behaviour, usually attributed suffering in the family to the *emizimu's* displeasure. Perhaps, that

is why Stenning considered them, in sharp contrast with the *emandwa*, to be "the malevolent, disciplinary, or pessimistic" element of Bahima traditional religion.[81] Nonetheless, the *emizimu* could punish the offenders of their families' moral codes, and bless those who kept those moral obligations.

1.3.5 The Educational System

The educational system also helped to reinforce the Bahima's domination over the Bairu. Although the model of education for the young was more or less similar among the two groups, the educational content was such that it put economic and political power in the hands of the Bahima. As in most African societies, it was the children themselves that lay at the centre of the Bairu's and Bahima's educational system. The system had no special and institutionalized places of instruction and no specialised group of instructors for its transmission, and therefore could only be described in terms of what was learnt but not what was taught. Sometimes, this emphasis on learning rather than teaching in African education was not fully grasped by European visitors and writers, who ended up accusing it of being devoid of instruction and reasoning. M.M. Edel, writing about the education of the Bakiga who live in the south west of Ankole and shared more or less the same system of traditional education as the Bairu and the Bahima, stated:

> The same assumption that responsibility rests with children underlies most of the educational practice, whether of habit, character or skills. The child wants to learn and sets about doing so and he must manage to learn by example, not by explanation. There is little supervised training and less lecturing. There is amazingly little verbalization in the whole learning process. Children seem never to ask 'why' questions which are so much a feature of learning in our culture.[82]

Among both the Bairu and the Bahima, it was the *ekika* (extended family) that

was mainly responsible for the education of their young. Particular members of the *ekika*, such as aunts, had specific obligations towards the education of girls; and men and women of skill and talents endeavoured to pass them on to the young. Despite these specific roles which some people were expected to play in traditional education, there was no professional group to do the teaching. Every adult participated in it, and could administer punishment and reward to any child in the community accordingly. Relationships in the community were governed by an extended kinship network. Thus the children had a lot of aunts and uncles, all of whom had the same status before the children as their physical fathers and mothers. The children called all brothers and sisters of their father *taatento* (literally, my young father), and *taatenkanzi* (my female father). The males and females of the same relation with the mother were *Maarimi* (my male mother), and *maawento* (my young mother).[83]

The educational methods for both the Bahima and the Bairu included instruction, story telling, narrative, proverbs, riddles, apprenticeship, and learning through participation and observation. However, the educational content of the two groups was different.

Cattle rearing was the dominant factor in the Bahima's education. Miss M.T. Baker, one of the first European women missionaries in Ankole, observed that most of the Bahima's proverbs, which was one of the methods in traditional education, were about cattle. In 1905, she wrote:

> Cows are the centre of life among the Bahima, nearly all the quarrelling and lawsuits begin with a cow, and all end in interchange of cows. Many of the proverbs are on this subject, and even the most unlikely proverbs, when they have been duly dissected and explained by a Muhima, have found their starting point in our bovine friend.[84]

The Bahima boys learned how to be effective herdsmen. From an early age

they were taught how to move through woods, cross swamps, and run through scrubs and thorny grounds. They learned how to be good listeners and observant and brave, important skills for any herdsman at the time. The grazing fields consisted of tall grass and shrubs, sometimes inhabited by wild animals, some of which such as lions, were particularly a menace to both human and cattle. For example, one missionary estimated in 1930 that "on average eight persons are killed by lions in Ankole each year".[85] In this case the herdsman therefore used his ear more than his eye. He had to learn how to distinguish the sound made by the walking of wild beasts from that of his grazing cattle, and how to keep his ears open all the time.[86]

All the same, the observant eye was equally important for the herdsman. He was expected to recognise the type of the wild beasts by their footmarks; and be able to reckon the number of his herd without counting them one by one. Traditionally, it was believed that if domestic animals, and even cattle were counted, they would die.[87] For that matter, the Bahima were trained to know their cattle, sheep and dogs by colour, size, or type of horns. Essentially, every Muhima would know his cow by sight and name.[88] There were other important skills which the Bahima boys had to learn. One of them was milking, how to induce the cow to give as much milk as it could, and to allow it enough milk to suckle its calf. The other was building cattle shelters, fences and kraals. On the whole, the Bahima boys' education about cattle was concerned mainly with the outdoor duties of the herdsman.

The education of the Bahima girls equipped them for the domestic duties of the cattle keepers. The Bahima girls learnt the chores of cattle keeping in and around the home. Their education was so designed to fit their way of life. Bahima women and girls led a secluded life around the kraal. The women veiled themselves, as did

the girls when they were of a marriagable age. They learnt to keep the kraal neat and tidy. They were also taught how to churn milk and make ghee, and how to smoke the milk pots. Above all they were gradually instructed into the duties of being a wife. As has been shown, the Bahima made cattle the source of economic and political power and a social status symbol. Thus it can be seen that by emphasising cattle, the educational system reinforced the status of the Bahima as the owners of wealth, political power and prestige.

By contrast, the content of education for the Bairu did not confer economic and political power or social prestige. Its chief focus was crop cultivation. Although there were certain duties in agriculture specifically designed for either boys or girls, the Bairu girls and boys were given more or less the same content of agricultural education. This was because both men and women participated in gardening, weeding and harvesting the crops. The boys and girls were equally trained in the skills of observation and listening. They learned the types of crops and how to tell the type of field and soil texture that was suitable for certain crops. They were taught the movements of the winds, to tell from which direction the wind would blow to bring rain or draught. They learned the rhythms of agricultural work, and cycle of seasons, which season was for which agricultural activity and crop growing. Actually, the Bairu's year was reckoned according to the duration of the appearance of the moon, patterned to the seasonal agricultural activities and rain seasons. This pattern has been systematized according to the modern months:

January: *Biruru* (burdened with harvesting millet).
February: *Katambuga* (millet and peas harvesting and drying).
March: *Bimere* (much rain that prevents the harvested millet crop from drying, and made it germinate and rot).
April: *Nyeitumba* (rainy and windy).
May: *Nyeikoma* (Rains become scanty).

June: *Kicuranci* (cloudy but hardly any rain).
July: *Nyeirirwe* (windy and dry).
August: *Kamena* (misty, and cloudy but dry).
September: *Nyakanga* (Rainy and sunny).
October: *Kaswa* (Rainy and white termites in abundance).
November: *Musenene* (Rains and grasshoppers in plenty).
December: *Muzimbezi* (cloudy but little rain).[89]

However, the Bairu content of education also equipped boys and girls for their specific sex roles. The boys were taught hunting and building skills. Certain boys, even some of those without an artisan background, learnt some artisan skills. The most prominent artisan male skills were *okuhesha* (iron smelting and manufacturing), and *okubaija* (wood cutting, curving and working). They made spears, knives, hoes, wooden plates and spoons. These artisan skills were acquired in addition to the agricultural ones because among the Bairu, the labour of the specialist was not a full-time occupation.[90] The girls learned skills pertaining to their sex roles as well: basket making, pottery, cooking, and child care.

Although the Bairu manufactured spears which were the weapons for warfare in the region, the Bahima never allowed them to learn the skill of using them. The educational system placed military skills in the hands of the Bahima. Bahima young boys were sent to live and serve at the king's kraal.[91] In the process, the boys would learn administrative and military skills, and graduated from the king's kraal with administrative offices and gifts of cattle.[92] The Bairu boys who went to the king's kraal were occupied with menial tasks. In fact, there was no room in the educational system for the mixing of the young of the Bairu and the Bahima.

Furthermore, both the Bairu and the Bahima were taught moral and religious values and behaviour, but most of these values supported the social stratification between the two groups. After a busy day of herding and cultivating it was common

experience after the evening meal and before going to bed for the young to listen to stories from any older person in the household. These stories could be folktales, myths, legends, animal stories, or stories about recent historical events which contained a moral teaching. This moral teaching was expounded at the end of telling the story.[93] It has been observed that the Bahima had construed most of the oral stories to promote the view that they were superior to the Bairu, and to impose most of their values on the Bairu. F. Lukyn-Williams has examined some of the stories and legends which might have been of Bairu origin and transmitted their spiritual, philosophical and ethical heritage but had been construed by the Bahima and given a Bahima flavour and interpretation.[94]

To conclude this section on Bairu-Bahima relations, the argument that early writers exaggerated the social stratification between the two ethnic groups is not sustained by recent research. Both the Bairu and Bahima were aware of the structural inequality between themselves. The Bairu were not just passive victims of this system but the Bahima were determined to keep them in subjection.[95] There was non-violent silent opposition on the part of the Bairu to Bahima domination and exploitation. If a Mwiru felt over-harassed by a Muhima aristocrat he would migrate to another area, where he thought he would find peace.[96] Furthermore the Bairu tended to settle out of the way of the Bahima grazing lands. They avoided the low plains of central, eastern and south-western Ankole, where most of the Bahima lived.[97] This point is also corroborated by F.D. Lugard, who, when he visited the eastern part of Ankole in 1891, described the area as a "food-less country... with few villages and little cultivation". His observation cannot be treated lightly because he was truly searching for food in order to settle a garrison of soldiers in Ankole.[98] Instead the Bairu were

squeezed into the hills of the north-western part.[99]

Another form of resistance was very subtle. For example, if a Mwiru felt that what a Muhima wanted him to do was too much for him, he would do all he could to delay the action, without telling the Muhima that he would not do it. Cases were known where Bairu, when carrying loads for Bahima, pretended to stumble and the contents in the load spilled out.[100]

The Bairu, however, were so economically disadvantaged that they could not mount an effective opposition to Bahima exploitation and domination. The Bairu's occupation being cultivation of crops, it required them to settle in one place, at least for a season. While the crops were growing, the Bairu could not emigrate to another area. Neither could they afford to move after the harvest, when they had gathered in their produce, which they could hardly carry for a long distance. Additionally, this occupation of theirs required of them the expenditure of a lot of energy, and as a result they were always tired. Thus the Bairu's way of life put them at a disadvantage with their Bahima pastoral neighbours, who enjoyed more leisure and were highly mobile. One Muhima could look after many cows - over one hundred - while others could be free to plan other activities, such as warfare.[101]

Therefore, the Bairu were politically, economically and ideologically dominated. Most probably, it was precisely because the domination was so comprehensive in nature that the Bairu were unable to mount an open rebellion against the Bahima, as opposed to Professor Karugire's contention that their quiescence indicated that they were not suffering any oppression from the Bahima.[102] After all, the fact that no open rebellion of Bairu against the Bahima appears in Ankole traditions does not rule out the possibility that there might have been one. Ankole traditions

were mainly designed by the Bahima, and these traditions were mainly about their glory and success, but not their failure. It is therefore possible that these traditions could ignore such a strand about Bairu opposition to Bahima domination. In fact, Professor Richard Gray has noted that African traditions have this tendency to conceal rebellions and revolutions:

> Rebellions and revolutionaries are difficult to discern in the records of oral tradition on which we depend for so much of our knowledge of pre-colonial Africa. Traditions often provide the charter or justification for a political order. So even if the system had originated in revolution, its origins might soon become clothed in respectability, and successful rebellions could be glossed over with rapidity.[103]

In short, in pre-Christian Ankole, there was a social stratification in which the Bahima dominated the Bairu. This domination had been deep-rooted in the traditional history and religious traditions, and economic and social systems.

1.4 Gender Relations

Traditionally, this system of ethnic stratification also affected women. Just as the Bahima men exploited the Bairu men through *okugabisa* (cattle loans), the Bahima women also exploited the Bairu women through *okucuruka*. *Okucuruka* was a barter exchange of grain for ghee or milk and was carried out between Bairu and Bahima women.[104] It was the Bairu women who carried their food to the Bahima women's kraals, and not the other way round. Rarely would a Mwiru woman take her produce, and get ghee or milk at a single visit. She was always required to come another time, and each time she revisited she had to carry more food for her potential Muhima woman ghee donor. By the time she received the ghee or milk, the amount of food she would have given to the Muhima woman would have been worth more than that

ghee or milk.[105] In addition to the political and economic means of control which the Bahima had over the Bairu, the Bairu women were exploited perhaps because they were much more numerous than the Bahima women, and therefore provided a wider market for the Bahima's dairy products.

Furthermore, the Bahima women demanded free services from the Bairu women. Nonetheless, the Bairu women could sometimes exact their dues for their work by withholding part of the produce from their labour without telling the Bahima women. For example, the practice was that Bahima women used to give millet grain to Bairu women to process - the latter would remove the husks, stones and sand, grind it and prepare the millet bread. The Bairu women, thriving on the ignorance of Bahima women about millet, would keep back some of the millet for their own consumption. The measure that Bahima women used for the grain would be the measure in which Bairu women returned the prepared millet bread. Yet in normal circumstances a measure of grain millet, after grinding and mingling, would yield twice or even more than the original measure.

Apart from the general social stratification, the position of both Bahima and Bairu women was more or less the same. Both groups of women enjoyed fewer privileges and a lesser social status than the men of the two ethnic groups.[106] Right from childhood, girls were taught that their future lay in joining another clan on marriage. They were also made to understand that the success of that marriage was conditional on their obedience not only to their future husbands but also to all their inlaws. On the one hand, marriage for a young man meant a step forward in his gaining of authority and independence from parents. As a married man, he had to acquire a field and to build his own house, and to become the head of the household. On the other

hand, marriage for the girl meant increased dependence. It reduced her independence. On marriage, the girl had to leave her parents' home and join not only that of her husband but also become a member of her husband's clan. It is important to point out that in Ankole, and indeed in most African societies, marriage was seen in terms of families and clans.[107] The members of the husband's family would often make numerous demands upon the wife, and would show a critical attitude towards her accomplishments and her conduct as a wife.[108]

In addition, marriage among both the Bairu and Bahima was monogamous but polygamy was permissible. On a marginal scale, polygamy was a liberating practice to the women, and ensured that no woman was deprived of marriage. First, with polygamy, widows could be fully provided for by the surviving men of their families. A man, even if already married, could take up the wife of a deceased brother without any feelings of doing wrong. Secondly, childless wives could keep their marriages without risking divorce, because their husbands could marry other wives in addition to them. In fact, paradoxically, a co-wife was sometimes a great consolation to the first wife particularly among the Bairu, for whom the preparation of food was a taxing exercise. Nevertheless, on the whole, polygamy compromised the status of women. Often, co-wives were engaged in perpetual competion to win the love and favour of their husband.[109]

Furthermore, the women were prohibited from eating most of the foods which men enjoyed. The Bahima and Bairu diets were different, but food prohibitions to the women were more or less the same. These food prohibitions mainly had to do with meat. Women of both groups were allowed to eat only beef but not other types of meat. Even then, they were not permitted to partake of every part of it. They were

prohibited from eating the tongue, and the kidneys. Why were the women prohibited from eating other types of meat and restricted to only beef? As J.F. Cunningham was told by Omugabe Kahaya, there was no other reason than the fact that it was the custom of the people. Reporting his findings from the interview with Omugabe Kahaya about the way of life of the people of Ankole, Cunningham recorded both the questions and answer; and about food prohibitions he wrote:

> "Do the same restrictions apply to the Bairu, the peasantry."(*sic*)
> "No, a peasant may eat goat's flesh."
> "May a peasant's wife do the same?"
> "No, no; a woman cannot eat the flesh of a goat."
> "Why?"
> "There is no why: it is the custom."[110]

These customs were seen as the product of the long-held wisdom and the tested experience of the past, a summary of the society's approved behaviour, actions, skills, knowledge, and values.

Similarly, the women could not inherit property, which among the Bairu was mainly land, and among the Bahima was cattle. Land and cattle run in families and both the Bairu and Bahima societies were patrilineal. In public life, women did not enjoy equal participation with men. Perhaps surprisingly, the Bahima women had much less access to public life than the Bairu women. They led a life of seclusion. They were confined around the home and veiled themselves in the presence of men and strangers. As Roscoe learnt, a Muhima "woman never paid visits except to her father or her own near relatives".[111] Seclusion and the veil, however, were not practised among the Bairu. With their husbands' permission, the wives could freely attend and mix with men and strangers at the family's and clan's ceremonies and feasts, as also did the unmarried girls with their fathers' or brothers' approval.[112]

In addition, there was a sharp differentiation of function between men and

women. However, this differentiation was sharper among the Bahima than the Bairu. Although among the Bairu there were specific responsibilities connected with one's sex, both Bairu women and men took part in the cultivation and production of food; men and women were both the family's livelihood earners. On the contrary, among the Bahima, earning a living was a responsibility of the men, while the women attended to domestic responsibilities at home: child care, preparing food and keeping the kraal tidy.[113] In fact, despite the ethnic division, when the early missionaries subsequently made contact with the Bairu, they reckoned that the Bairu women enjoyed a relatively greater degree of freedom than Bahima women.[114]

However, this differentiation of function between men and women was virtually absent in traditional religious life among both the Bairu and the Bahima. Here both Bahima and Bairu women and men could become religious personages: *abahangwa* (diviners), *abarangi* (mediums), *abafumu* (physicians and pharmacologists), *abamuzi* (rain-makers and fore-casters). For instance, Kibooga, one of the chief diviners of Omugabe Ntare, was a woman. Kibubura, Kibooga's sister, also became one of Omugabe Kahaya's chief diviners.[115]

1.5 British Contact and Colonialism

The context for this study would be incomplete without mentioning British colonial rule and penetration in Ankole which constitutes the backdrop for the study of any aspect of the history of the church in Ankole. The British occupied the centre of the political stage in Ankole during the period of the advent and growth of the church in Ankole, and their administration also had an impact of its own on the Bahima-Bairu

and gender relations.

It was towards the end of Ntare's reign that Nkore came in contact with European visitors, and was mapped out for European colonial penetration. The first European visitor to come to Nkore was H.M. Stanley, the British-born journalist and traveller, in 1876 and 1889. His second visit conformed to the common pattern of European imperial infuence in Africa in which the early Europeans, who in the eyes of the African seemed to be harmless wanderers, became forerunners of European colonial rule. Stanley was followed by Captain F.D. Lugard, a member of the Imperial British East African Company (IBEA) in 1891. Lugard did not disguise the purpose of his presence and travelling in East Africa. He said that wherever he went in East Africa he declared that he and his team were not "merely passing travellers", but "had come to arrange the country, and to build and settle in it". In fact, he said that he had repeated this message so much that by the time he came to Ankole his interpreter "hardly needed to be prompted, for he had learnt it all by heart".[116]

However, Ntare avoided physical contact with the Europeans. He had refused to meet Stanley, and neither did he agree to see Lugard. Instead he sent some of his chiefs, headed by Birinzi, to meet with Lugard on his behalf. It is not clear why Ntare declined to meet the Europeans in person. Lugard speculated that Ntare was "too fat to walk, and avoided all locomotion".[117] Nonetheless, this explanation is contrary to the Ntare known both in history and in tradition as an able fighter and powerful king. Perhaps Ntare was trying to express displeasure at the Europeans' interference in his Kingdom. He knew that the Europeans would take away his political power. He had been in contact with the Baganda Christian exiles, whom, according to Apolo Kagwa, he had treated very kindly.[118] He was aware of how the British had stripped

both *Omukama* Kabarega of Bunyoro and *Kabaka* Mwanga of Buganda of their political powers. In fact, Zechariah, Lugard's envoy to Ntare, revealed that Ntare was afraid to meet Lugard because he feared his military might.[119] Ntare spelt out that he did not like the setting up of a British administrative post in his Kingdom. Actually, Lugard's company comprised 1200 people,[120] and it is conceivable that any self-conscious political leader would think twice before exposing himself to such an invading force. After all, as Roscoe later learnt:

> Only well known and loyal men were allowed to enter the Mugabe's presence armed; such a man simply moved his spear from his right to his left hand, while he shook hands with the Mugabe and greeted him.[121]

Lugard dropped the idea of setting up a military post in Nkore. He was deterred not only by Ntare's opposition but also by the insurmountable problem of scarcity of food in Nkore. Although Ntare's resistance need not be underrated it was, according to Lugard, the latter factor that informed his decision:

> I had abandoned the idea of building a station in Ankoli (*sic*), at least at present, for there was no food for a garrison.[122]

All the same, Lugard went ahead and declared Nkore part of the area of influence for the IBEA company, and in his diary made this entry:

> I presented them with a huge flag, and they understood that all whom they may see carrying this are the Company's and the British employees. We had a very long talk, and all the usual protestations were made, that all his country and everything he possessed were now mine.[123]

Lugard was followed by G.G. Cunningham, another British officer, in 1894. His aim was to reinforce what Lugard had done. His economic package was that British subjects should have access to all parts of Ntare's kingdom, and the right to possess property and to monopolise the trade there.[124]

Nevertheless, the British did not set up an administrative post in Ankole until 1898, when MacAllister, sent by the British administration at Entebbe, came to Nkore and opened up an administrative post at Mbarara. MacAllister was the first residential British representative (Collector, as he was called) in Nkore.[125] The British administration wanted a firm administration in Nkore to protect their Uganda Protectorate against the other European colonial powers. In the south, the region of Nkore lay near the territories of the Germans in Rwanda and Tanganyika (now Tanzania). In the west, they also bordered the larger Belgian territory of Congo (now Zaire).

Although the British would have occupied Nkore regardless of the state of Nkore's political strength, it is important to observe that this was a particularly favourable time for foreign aggression against Nkore. Nkore had lost one of its ablest kings, Ntare, and was still battling with the question of his successor. It had not recovered from the effects of a succession of human and cattle diseases, which the kingdom had suffered during the last years of Ntare. Neither had it regained its strength from the humiliation and plundering inflicted by the Banyarwanda invasion of 1895.[126]

Kahaya, an eighteen-year-old lad, emerged ahead of the other two contending princes, Kahitsi and Rwakatogoro, and succeeded Ntare as the Omugabe of Nkore in 1897. He was supported by Igumira and Mbaguta, two important chiefs of the late Ntare. Nevertheless, it was clear that Kahaya's role as king, and the kingdom which he inherited would be unlike that of Ntare and his predecessors. On a superficial level, MacAllister altered the name of the kingdom from Nkore to Ankole in 1898 - hardly a year after Kahaya had become the king. More fundamentally, MacAllister and his

successor, Racey, extended its borders to include the semi-independent kingdoms of Igara, Buzimba, Koki and Buhweju.

However, the introduction of the British administration did not change the location of political power in Ankole. The British confirmed the Bahima chiefs in their leadership role; and locally, political power remained in the hands of the Bahima. By the 1901 Ankole agreement, the British administration placed all the expanded territory under Kahaya. All the incorporated kingdoms were demoted to become counties, and their Bahima kings became county-chiefs. The 1901 Ankole agreement also incorporated Ankole into a larger colonial framework, the British Uganda Protectorate, which lasted up to 1962 when Uganda became politically independent.

The British introduced also a new administrative structure, along the lines of that of Buganda, but the new structure was incorporated into the existing administration of the Bahima chiefs.[127] This use of the Bahima chiefs was consistent with the British's policy of indirect rule, a method of government which utilised the local agents to mediate between the British administrators and the conquered peoples. Not only was this method economical on the imperial power's part but it also enabled the conquerors to carry out the exploitation of their colonies unobtrusively.

Among the many significant innovations this model of indirect rule created in Ankole was the status ascribed to the office of *Enganzi*. Apparently, the office of the *Enganzi* (literally, the brightest star near the moon) in Nkore traditional administration was an administrative office for the royal enclosure but not for the entire Kingdom. The *Enganzi* received those who had brought tribute for the king. For example, although Roscoe ascribed some responsibilities to the Enganzi which were to do with the whole kingdom (an observation which might have already been influenced by the

innovation), Roscoe noted that the *Enganzi's* kraal was situated in front of the gateway to prevent any enemy from coming to the king's kraal unnoticed.[128]

In the new Ankole the post of the Enganzi was equated with that of the Katikiro of Buganda. The post was first occupied by Mbaguta. Mbaguta was a man of administrative ability, and in addition had co-operated with the British and had taken a keen and active part in the colonialization and extension of Ankole.[129] During his time as *Enganzi* of Ankole, he earned the confidence and the trust of the British administration. F. Lukyn Williams, the British District Commissioner of Ankole, who filed Mbaguta's retirement in 1937, described him as:

> a man of exceptional administrative ability, a stalwart fighter and a wise counsellor, and a loyal subject, a generous host and a staunch friend.[130]

In contrast, the British administrators had a low opinion of Kahaya, the king. According to Doornbos, they thought that Kahaya was "weak, physically and intellectually, sullen, lacking in will and moral acumen".[131] Boosted both by the *Kiganda* foreign element and by its first occupant, the office of the *Enganzi* became a powerful political post in Ankole's administrative structure. In fact, in the time of Mbaguta the *Enganzi* was more influential than the Omugabe.[132] As will be discussed later both the post of *Enganzi* and Mbaguta's occupacy of it were significant factors in the subsequent history of Bairu-Bahima relations.

Another innovation that indirect rule introduced in Ankole was the individual ownership of large estates of land. To keep up the morale of their Bahima agents, the British administration mapped out and allocated a square mile (*mailo*) of land to each of the important Bahima chiefs as their personal property.[133] As has been shown, traditionally, land was owned among the Bairu on a small scale on the basis of utility;

it had not been a property for individual ownership for the Bahima. Hence portioning out large estates of land to some Bahima, the British administration helped to reinforce the Bahima's political power and wealth.

Although the British administration was content to maintain the Bahima in their privileged position, it initiated a number of political changes which regulated their powers and in the process boosted the position of the Bairu as well. First, the *Omugabe* was substituted by the British Collector (later District Commissioner) as the final authority in the administration of Ankole; in fact, the former and his chiefs would keep their offices in the pleasure of the latter. Secondly, the British allocated two of Ankole's ten counties, Mitooma, and Kajara, to Baganda chiefs, Abdalla Affende (1905) and Semei Mubiazarwa (1914) respectively, ending the Bahima's exclusive claims to chieftainship.[134] Introducing the Baganda chiefs ought to have been a significant step in the Bahima-Bairu relations for the Baganda like the Bairu were vegetable eaters. Thirdly in the 1930s, the British Administration opened the posts of chiefs below the level of the *saza* (county) chiefs to competition on the basis of capacity and formal educational achievement. After the Second World War, emphasis was given to establishing representative systems of local government in the whole of the Uganda Protectorate.

Notes to Chapter One

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11. See Map 1.

12. Uganda Government, *Uganda 1962-3* (Entebbe, 1964).

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26. Oberg, 'The kingdom of Ankole in Uganda', p.154.

27. *Ibid.*, p.154.

28. Stenning, 'The Nyankole', p.153.

29. *Ibid.*, p.153.

30. *Ibid.*, p.153.

31. *Ibid.*, p.153.

32. *Ibid.*, p.153.

33. S.R. Karugire, *A History of the Kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda to 1898* (London, 1971), p.39.

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35. *Ibid.*, p.52.

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37. *Ibid.*, p.164.

38. *Ibid.*, pp.3-4.

39. *Ibid.*, p.5.

40. M. Doornbos, *Not All the Kings Men* (The Hague, 1978), pp.29, 35-6.

41. *Ibid.*, p.35.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE MISSIONARY CHURCH AND THE BAIRU-BAHIMA RELATIONS, c.1898-1920

2.1 The Church Missionary Society Contact and Evangelisation

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was the first Christian mission to operate in Ankole. This operation was an extension from Buganda where the CMS work had begun in 1877. This extension, however, made slow progress. Ankole was the last kingdom among the western kingdoms of Bunyoro and Toro to be evangelized.[1] The first Christian contact with Ankole was very accidental. Christian fugitives from the persecution and religio-political wars in Buganda, during 1888-9 took refuge in Kabula.[2] Their Christian influence in Ankole, however, was minimal. When peace returned to Buganda, the majority went back, and the few who stayed permanently were of no missionary significance.[3]

Nevertheless, these exiles put Ankole on the Christian missionary agenda. Those who went back to Buganda always felt indebted to the people of Ankole.[4] In fact, some of the former exiles tried to keep in contact with Ankole and to open it up for the gospel. The most notable of these was Apolo Kagwa, who was the commander of the exiles, and after the exile, became the *Katikiro* (Prime Minister) of Buganda, from 1889 to 1929.[5] Another was Zakaliya Kizito Kisingiri, who was a spokesman during the exile, and later, became an important chief in Buganda, the *Kangawo* of Buremezi, and one of the first Anglican deacons in Buganda.[6] The two men tried to engineer the placement of catechists in Ankole.[7]

However, no practical efforts to evangelise Ankole were made until 1898. A major part of the reason for this delay was to do with the CMS mission's stategy. The mission sought to make Buganda the base for the evangelization of its surrounding areas. Nonetheless, the first twelve years or so of its existence in Buganda were years of struggling. Although the crises which the mission suffered in Buganda at the time are a well known story, it is necessary to highlight some of them for the purpose of clarifying the argument. First, the CMS mission was immediately entangled in disputes with the Roman Catholic mission of the White Fathers, and also with the Muslim Arabs. In spite of the view that this rivalry later promoted the spread of Christianity in Uganda by generating a high spirit of evangelistic competition between the two missions, it at first served to discredit the mission's evangelistic claims. Secondly, the missions appeared, at least to Kabaka Mwanga, to be a prelude to European colonializing of Buganda - as indeed in certain respects they were. This suspicion led to the fires of Namugongo in 1886 in which most of the missions' potential convert leaders perished. Similarly, this persecution and the subsequent imperial rivalry turned the two missions into religio-political parties and led to wars in Buganda. Although the CMS mission eventually emerged as the victor, it lost many men of vigour in the wars; and the wars inhibited its purposeful expansion during the time of strife.

Furthermore, despite the fact that it is these wars that were responsible for the first Christian contact with Ankole, two of their other effects were particularly frustrating as far as the CMS mission's extension of work to Ankole was concerned. The first was the division of Uganda into Christian missionary spheres of influence. These wars highlighted the antagonism between the Roman Catholic and the Anglican

missionaries in Buganda. For example, Gerald Portal, who succeeded Lugard as the IBEA Company's official in Buganda, told of the difficulties he experienced in trying to bring together Bishop Tucker, and Mgr. Hirth, the Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops respectively, to settle their differences:

> All's well that ends well, but I don't wish ever again to have a three and a half hours' skirmish with two angry bishops - one not understanding English, and the other knowing no French.[8]

Portal considered that the best way to make the two missions avoid conflict was to divide the territory between the two denominations. He made Bishop Tucker and Mgr. Hirth agree to his plan:

> After a lot more trouble I also got them to enter into an agreement as to the future extension of mission work, so that the Catholic and Protestant missionaries may no longer continue to follow each other about, and to plant new missions in the same districts, with the inevitable result of more war and scandal.[9]

The division was arranged in such a way that the southern and western areas of Uganda - where Ankole lies - were given to the White Fathers, and the eastern and northern to the CMS. So the CMS mission could not extend its work to Ankole so long as the rule about these Christian spheres of influence was in force. The case of Kasagama, the king of Toro, is a revealing one. Kasagama requested CMS missionaries in 1893 but Bishop Tucker declined to send them on the grounds that this would contravene the agreed spheres of influence. Instead, Bishop Tucker allowed Baganda catechists to go on the basis that they belonged to the 'native' Mengo church Council, and that the spheres of influence did not apply to the activities of indigenous evangelists.[10]

Secondly, the wars made the CMS mission lose its self-confidence, with the result that, though it has been said that "there was no clearer instance in the colonial

era of the cross preceding the flag"[11] than that of Uganda, after the wars in Buganda, the mission no longer felt that its missionaries could be secure without the protection of the imperial power of the British, their countrymen. As a result, Bishop Tucker urged very strongly that the British should annex Uganda in order to offer protection to the missionaries. As Brian Stanley put it, "his prediction of disaster in Uganda now became unconditional" if the British did not rule in Uganda.[12] In fact, it was believed, at least in CMS circles, that it was through the efforts of Bishop Tucker that Uganda came under the British rule.[13] The practical consequence of this loss of confidence was that, after the introduction of the British administration in Uganda, the CMS mission was contented to follow the trail of the colonial administration. Nevertheless, it seems that in effect, the introduction of the British colonial administration weakened, if not ended, the ideal of Christian spheres of influence. During this period missionaries of both denominations began to go to any part of the country without much protest from either side.

The CMS mission's practical efforts to evangelize Ankole were commenced in 1898, which is also the year when the British administration opened a station there. These pioneer efforts were initiated by the Baganda catechists.[14] The Mengo church Council sent to Ankole two Baganda catechists, Nuwa and Timiseo, but the two stayed for a few weeks and returned to Buganda. The Rev. H. Clayton, a CMS missionary based in Koki, on the border with Ankole, accompanied two other Baganda catechists to Ankole in 1899, and left them at the capital of the king. The two were Ishaka Nyakaranga and Stephano Kabumansa. These catechists, like the former, stayed for a very short time but could not cope and went back to Buganda and reported their failure to the Mengo Council.

As Pirouet pointed out, the catechists were confronted with two major problems. First, the king of Ankole and his senior chiefs were still apprehensive about the introduction of the new European beliefs in their kingdom, bearing in mind the great upheavals these beliefs had caused in Buganda.[15] Secondly, the catechists could not find food to live on. Unfortunately, the Baganda and the European missionaries did not fully understand the magnitude of this food problem. They could not understand why the king of Ankole could not provide food for the catechists. They thought that he was deliberately refusing to feed the catechists so that the catechists would fail to cope and quit. In other words, the lack of food was a sign of the king's rejection of the catechists and of Christianity. Driven by this conviction, Zakaliya Kizito Kisingiri visited the king of Ankole to convince him to maintain the Baganda catechists.[16]

With the same agenda as Kisingiri, Bishop Tucker, accompanied by his missionary colleague, Dr. Albert Cook, and two Baganda catechists, Firipo Bamulenzaki and Andereya Kamya, and by other attendants (porters and carrier) came to Ankole in December 1899. Bishop Tucker shared the view that the King of Ankole's failure to feed the catechists was a signal of his opposition to Christianity. During his audience with the king, Bishop Tucker tried to challenge him about it. As a result, Bamulenzaki and Kamya were allowed to stay at the *orurembo* (the king's palace and capital of Nkore) and to do their work as they wanted, and Bishop Tucker and his other party proceeded to Toro.[17] All the same Kahaya and Mbaguta were still somewhat apprehensive about the availability of food in the area for the catechists.[18]

In point of fact, Kahaya was not being mean or outrightly rejecting the

catechists by failing to provide them with food. The food habits of the Baganda catechists were different from those of the Bahima. The former were chiefly cooked vegetable eaters, and the latter were mainly consumers of dairy products. Finding cooked vegetable was beyond the imagination of the Bahima pastoral soceity because such food was a taboo to them. What complicated the matter was that the Baganda catechists, being vegetable eaters, could not be allowed to drink milk either, which formed the chief diet of the Bahima. The Bahima believed that the drinking of milk by the vegetable eaters would harm the productivity of the cows that produced the milk. B.T. Johnson, one of the early CMS missionaries to visit Ankole, noted how prevalent this belief was among the Bahima:

> They (the Bahima) are immensely proud of the fact that they do not touch vegetables, and have various ways of expressing their contempt for their vegetarian neighbours. Their cows, as they will tell you, are even more fastidious than themselves. Should anyone but a milk drinker attempt to draw milk form her, she would rigidly refuse; should she suspect that her milk is destined for such a one she would at once withhold it, and should she be aware that it had been so bestowed, so great would be her indignation that she would never yield again.[19]

Bamulenzaki and Kamya were to stay at the *orurembo* and evangelise the Omugabe and his chiefs. Not only did Kahaya and Mbaguta provide for the catechists' physical needs but they also joined their reading classes.

Bamulenzaki and Kamya were joined by the Rev. Herbert Clayton and the Rev. John Jamieson Willis (later bishop of Uganda) on 5 January 1901. The two were the first CMS European resident missionaries in Ankole. With their arrival the CMS mission base was strengthened and consolidated at the *orurembo*. Willis stayed for a year, but Clayton stayed for 10 years, and expanded the work of the mission to most parts of the Kingdom. Clayton earned a high reputation among the Banyankore,

and he was very much liked. As a comment on his punctuality and enthusiasm, the Banyankore nicknamed him *Rutakyererererwa rwa Katonya* (he who ever gets there on time). They also concentrated their efforts on converting Kahaya and Mbaguta and the nobility. By August 1902, the Omugabe and the Enganzi had made up their mind to go forward for baptism. With their wives and twenty-three others, they were baptised on 7 December 1902. Furthermore, the mission directed the spread of its work, and the church which resulted from it, to follow the political and administrative structure of the kingdom. The first catechists from Mbarara were sent to the chiefs, and most of the first out-station mission centres were planted near those of the chiefs.[20]

This approach to the evangelization of Ankole from the top readily drew the CMS and its newly formed Anglican church into the centre of Ankole's socio-political arena, which was dominated by the relations between the Bairu and the Bahima. However, the CMS were not alone. They existed in competition with the Roman Catholic mission, not only in Ankole but also in Uganda at large, and sometimes the two missions influenced each other's work, and although this study will concentrate on the Anglican impact, this impact must be seen in its wider context.

2.2 The White Fathers

The White Fathers, who founded the Catholic church in Ankole, did not open their first mission station in Ankole until 1902, two years after the the arrival of the CMS. The White Fathers immediately tried to take advantage of the Christian spheres of influence and opened mission stations in Bunyoro, Toro (1895) and south Buganda

as far as Koki (1894), on the border with Ankole, but they did not extend as far as Ankole. They were preoccupied with planning how to encroach on the CMS' eastern territory. While the CMS aimed at using the Mengo Council in the White Fathers area, the White Fathers "conceived the idea of inviting the Mill Hill Fathers", a British order, "to come to undertake work in part of Uganda which had been debarred".[21] The White Fathers thought that having British nationals in their mission would remove the idea "that 'catholic' and 'French' were synonymous".[22] The coming and the settling in of the Mill Hill Fathers cost the White Fathers time, and it was not until 1898 that was concluded.[23]

The first White Fathers to reach Ankole were Father Lesbros and Brother Herman in 1900. They were guided by two Batoro catechists, Yozefu Rutebemberwa and Jean Kamondo. However, the Anglican mission and the British Collector in Ankole, Racey, did not welcome their mission. Racey explicitly wrote:

> I am of the opinion only one religion should be tolerated in Ankole for it is patent that should the Roman Catholics be permitted to settle here as well as the Protestants there will be trouble beyond anything I can contemplate.[24]

The two advised Omugabe Kahaya to prevent the White Fathers from operating in his Kingdom:

> Racey tells me that he hears that the Roman Catholics are going to appeal home about their exclusion from Ankole and he is anxious that we should increase the number of our native teachers here, so that when the row (raw) [*sic*] comes Kahaya may be able to say that his people are already being taught by Protestant teachers and there is not room left for the Roman-Catholics.[25]

According to Maari, the main reason why Racey wanted to exclude the Roman Catholics was that he wanted to identify himself with the Anglicans and to promote their interests.[26] Nonetheless, it is most likely that Racey's fear about the Roman

Catholics in Ankole, which made him compromise the often exalted tradition of religious toleration within British imperial rule, rose not only from his personal religious sentiments but also from his commitment to establish a centralized British rule in Ankole. Racey was determined to subject all the kingdoms of Igara, Buhweju, and Buzimba under the king of Nkore. In fact, he pursued his unification plan so ruthlessly that he was nicknamed *Mpitsi-eribarya* (a hungry hyena).[27] His forces marched against those kingdoms that appeared hesistant at unification; and they forced Musinga, the king of Igara, to commit suicide, and killed the *Omukama* of Buhweju, Ndagara and his son, Nyakinga, and his grandson, Kabamwerere.[28] In these circumstances, it is most likely that Racey feared that a Roman Catholic mission in Ankole could easily win the support of those elements which were opposed to his unification and unite them against his administration.

The White Fathers appealed against the decision of the *Omugabe* and Racey to the British Commissioner at Entebbe and permission for their mission in Ankole was granted. In October 1902, Father L. Gorju and A. Varangot opened a White Fathers' station and settled in Mbarara at Nyamitanga, hardly a mile opposite the CMS station.[29] The White Fathers were determined to contest the CMS, whom they believed to be responsible for their rejection in the first place. Bishop Streicher, the head of the White Fathers in Uganda, had sent Gorju and Varangot with this instruction: "make a good impression and make your selves known rapidly".[30] The White Fathers gradually realized that whereas the Bahima, bent on following the lead of the *Omugabe*, were already lost to the CMS, the 'serfs', the Bairu, were a distinct ethnic group from the Bahima and had not been reached by the CMS. So after 1910, they accordingly concentrated their efforts on the Bairu, and achieved their success

in the Bairu settled communities in the hilly parts of north and north-west Ankole, in Bunyaruguru, Buhweju, Igara and Ibanda.[31]

Unlike the CMS, the White Fathers emphasised medical work, opening dispensaries on every mission station. They did not make literacy a prerequisite for baptism, neither did they care about the outward appearances of their converts. Their inquirers, catechumens or converts, whether well dressed or not were welcome in the churches. For that reason, the Roman Catholic church in Ankole was called *ekyabarofa* (party of the dirty people).[32] In short, unlike the CMS and the Anglican church, the White Fathers operated outside Ankole's political establishment. Nevertheless, their presence exercised an important influence on some of the work and activities of the CMS mission in Ankole.

2.3 The Anglican Missionary Church and the Bahima

The early CMS missionaries to Ankole did not easily recognise the distinction between the Bairu and Bahima. On the whole they seemed to think that the popula-tion of Ankole was composed of Bahima. In one of his first letters from Ankole the Rev. Clayton reported that, "the people of Ankole are Bahima and their language is *Luhima*".[33] He gave the same impression when he was trying to advocate the use of *Lunyoro* instead of *Luganda* in the evangelising of Ankole, when he wrote:

> *Lunyoro* is not very different from *Luhima* and I am not sure whether we may not do better to teach in *Lunyoro* rather than in *Luganda*.[34]

Clayton also talked of the king of Ankole as the king of the Bahima.[35] His companion missionary, J.J. Willis also advanced the same view. Just as he, with Clayton,

was on his way to Ankole for the first time, he noted in his diary:

> We are now close to the borders of Ankole and the people here are Bahima and speak the *Luhima* language of Ankole.[36]

In 1902 A.B. Fisher, a CMS missionary based in Toro, fostered the same opinion.

During his tour to Ankole he saw cultivation being done. He could not realise that it was being carried out by the Bairu, but still attributed it to the Bahima, "the country folk who before time (*sic*) lived on milk".[37]

Miss A.H. Robinson, one of the women CMS missionaries in Ankole, also thought of the pastoral Bahima as the only population of Ankole. Elaborating on the problems that the pioneering CMS mission was encountering in Ankole she reported:

> Another difficulty which we had to face consisted in the fact that the Banyankore are a pastoral people and their women live as secluded as our Indian sisters, in some ways worse off, because they live in the part of the hut where there is no door, and are very difficult to reach.[38]

J. Roscoe, the only CMS missionary to publish a book on Ankole,[39] also did not mention in his book that the Bairu were a significant part of the population of Ankole. Despite its title, *The Banyankole*, the book mainly discusses the pastoral Bahima as if they were the only occupants of Ankole. Roscoe mentions in passing other people whom he calls 'serfs', but he gives no indication whether these 'serfs' were an important part of the population of Ankole society or were the larger community of the Bairu. Rather, what Roscoe seems to suggest is that these people, the serfs, were an insignificant minority who formed the immediate servants of the Bahima.[40] As M. Doornbos has rightly observed; "the absence of a general discussion of the Bairu majority in the book is so striking that one must seriously consider whether Roscoe, quite simply, did not mean to just write about Bahima society - on the understanding that Nkore was that".[41]

The neglect of the Bairu in the missionaries' early descriptions of Ankole society becomes less surprising when one considers their immediate background in Buganda. Buganda was the base of the CMS mission in Uganda. It was a cardinal rule of this mission, for the first forty years of its existence in the country, that its missionaries had to learn *Luganda*, regardless of the area of the country that they were going to evangelize, because it wanted to make Luganda the 'lingua franca' for the rest of Uganda.[42] Missionaries who came to Ankole before 1910 were required to learn *Luganda* before they came, and once they were in the mission-field they embarked on mastering the *Lunyoro* language which had been made the medium of instruction in Ankole.[43] So they came to Ankole having been partially influenced by the Baganda, who were sometimes their instructors in the language. It is most likely that the *Baganda* had also influenced their understanding of who were the inhabitants of Ankole. The Baganda referred to all the Banyankore, be they Bairu or Bahima, as '*Balalo*', meaning pastoralists. It is not clear whether the Baganda themselves knew of the distiction between the agriculturalist Bairu and pastoralist Bahima of Ankole. Doornbos says that they did,[44] but there is some evidence to the contrary. According to Canon E. Binaisa, a senior Muganda church leader, who became a catechist in 1910, and went as an evangelist to Sudan in 1915, most of the Baganda did not know that a certain section of the population of Ankole did not own cattle. Rather, they thought that every person from Ankole had cattle.[45]

It is conceivable that the Baganda might not have known about the Bairu. It was the Bahima that lived on the border with Buganda, but the Bairu lived too far from it. By the nature of their economic activity, agriculture, the Bairu were a settled community. Save for a few who had been captured in raids or in the slave trade, not

many Bairu had ever crossed the borders of Ankole before the coming of the British administration into Ankole. In fact, it was the introduction of the hut-tax and the cash economy by the British in the first decade of this century that made the Bairu move far and wide from home.[46] Clayton tells of a good number of them having left their homes and having come to Mbarara with fibre to sell to raise hut tax:

> There is a large crowd of *Bailu* (*sic*) some 1300 strong camped close by here for a few days. They came to bring fibre they have collected in the forest to sell for hut tax. I went out yesterday evening with four of our Christians and held an open service in their camp.[47]

It was soon after this that the Bairu started going to Buganda in search of work as hired labour in order to earn money for the same tax which later became a personal graduated tax.

The Bahima, on the other hand, were a very mobile people, and this could have easily brought them into contact with the outside world. They were pastoralists, moving far and wide in search of good grazing fields for their herds. For example, J.F. Cunningham, secretary to H.H. Johnston, the British Commissioner in Uganda, (1899 - 1901), wrote in his report:

> Groups of Bahima are found in almost every province and district between Lake Victoria and Lake Albert Nyanza, engaged in herding cattle, but the District of Ankole in the Western Province may be said to be their home at the present day.[48]

Bishop Tucker also noted that many Bahima were settled in one of the districts of Buganda, Kyagwe, and at the time was ordaining one of them a deacon, by the name of Muyinda, to go and serve his people.[49] The same point is corroborated by the fact that some Bahima are named among the early Christian converts in Buganda. Andereya Lugalama, one of the first martyrs in Buganda is a case in point.[50]

All this, however, does not wholly explain the blindness of the missionaries

to the presence of the Bairu in Ankole. It sheds light on such cases as that of J.J. Willis, whose estimate of Ankole society was a speculation, given before he ever set foot in it. But those instances of the missionaries who gave their impressions of the people of Ankole after they arrived in the country are more surprising. It must be remembered that these missionaries at first confined their work to the king's capital, where the majority of inhabitants, at least those who mattered in the daily activities of the capital, and therefore in the eyes of foreigners, were Bahima.

Hence it is little wonder that the first missionaries in Ankole thought that the inhabitants of Ankole were in the main Bahima. The Bahima were the missionaries' associates and informants. They, for instance, were the source for Roscoe's book:

> Roscoe is very keen on ferreting out native customs and is I believe preparing matter for a book on the subject. He gets one of the old people from the king's place here to come down each morning and then pumps him with questions as to their customs.[51]

Gradually, however, some individuals among the CMS missionaries came to acknowledge the existence of Bairu as inhabitants of Ankole, distinct from the Bahima. They observed that they were an agricultural community who were being dominated and oppressed by the Bahima. J.J. Willis's annual report of 1903 mentioned:

> The population of Ankole is composed of two distinct elements, the Bahima who are the conquering race; and the Bearu (*sic*), the original inhabitants, who represent the subject race.[52]

In 1907, Rev. W.E. Owen made a similar observation. Owen had been in Ankole for a year. He had been transferred from Ngogwe, Kyagwe in Buganda to Ankole to take over the work of H. Clayton who was returning home for a furlough. Owen described the Bairu as "serfs absolutely, ... at the beck and call of their lords all the year round".[53]

However, it is not until after 1910 that CMS missionaries began to make full references to the Bairu as a separate ethnic group, who also formed a significant section of Ankole society. This realisation, however, made little difference to the mission's immediate evangelistic objectives. The CMS missionaries were content to concentrate their energies on converting the Bahima, while continuing to neglect the Bairu. From the start they threw in their lot with the Bahima. Indeed ever since the formulation of the plan to evangelise Ankole, the target had been the king and his chiefs. Following the pattern of the Buganda mission, the conversion of the king and the nobility was the strategy of the CMS mission in Ankole. That is why all attempts at evangelising Ankole aimed at stationing Baganda catechists and European missionaries at the capital of the *Omugabe*. In practice, the early CMS missionaries concentrated their energies on the capital, on the king and his chiefs and other Bahima, as they were the rulers of the country, and were the ones who lived at the capital. In his annual letter of 1902, J.J. Willis declared that the task of their mission was first and foremost to evangelise the capital:

> Meanwhile our work is to strengthen and deepen the work at the capital, and as opportunity offers, and whenever men come forward to "preach the Gospel in the regions beyond".[54]

On the day of their first arrival in Ankole, Clayton and Willis reported to the king even before they went to the British fort at Mbarara. They made sure that Kahaya, the king and Mbaguta, the prime-minister, attended their first meeting.[55] Three days later Clayton reported having started making some progress with instructing the king:

> I am trying to teach the king. He has learnt his syllables, and knows the creed by heart, but he finds it hard to recognise the letters when he first sees them.[56]

The first church in Ankole was built at the capital; and the first baptisms were performed in the royal circles. In fact, the *Omugabe*, the *Enganzi*, and their wives were among the second group of *Banyankore* to be baptised in the CMS mission.[57] Immediately after baptism the *Omugabe* and the *Enganzi* were enlisted in the first confirmation class, and within a year they were ready for it. They were made to lead the way as the first Banyankore knelt before Bishop Tucker for the laying on of hands on 21 October 1903. This being the first confirmation service in Ankole, the *Omugabe* and his *Enganzi* were, in effect, the first fruits of the CMS mission in Ankole to become full members of the Anglican church.

Subsequently, the missionaries tried to keep on good terms with the king and his chiefs, which was a prerequisite for nurturing them in the faith and was at the head of their agenda. They used every opportunity to engulf the King and his chiefs with Christian influence. Even when Kahaya was summoned by the British administration to Entebbe in September 1903, Clayton reported that: "We are sending a teacher with him to act as chaplain on the road".[58] Similarly, Clayton reported that he was making every effort to teach the king how to write, and some arithmetic:

> The King is now struggling with the mysteries of subtraction, and finds it very difficult to remember to pay when he has borrowed.[59]

The missionaries also involved the king and his chiefs in most of the mission activities. Clayton also told of an occasion when he took the King and his chiefs a mile away from the capital to go and meet Bishop Tucker on his second visit to Ankole in October 1903. In his annual letter, Clayton recorded:

> The king with a large crowd of people came to them (referring to Bishop Tucker and his party) just a mile out and they had a warm welcome.[60]

In 1904 Clayton also reported that the King was a regular member of his Bible classes and evangelistic tea-parties:

> I still have my Bible class and tea party for the natives on Sunday afternoons at two o'clock, to which Kahaya always comes.[61]

To maintain the morale of the king and his chiefs the missionaries kept on giving them gifts and presents, sometimes articles that were not in good condition, which the missionaries no longer needed, such as the harmonium that Clayton presented to Kahaya:

> My harmonium, which is in a very wheezy state, I have presented to the king, who is delighted with it. He has learnt one or two hymn tunes to play more or less correctly with one finger, so now he can practise at home to his heart's content.[62]

The king would send them gifts of cows, oxen and sheep in return. By 1904 the missionaries had established an intimate relationship with the King and a neighbourliness so real that the two could share in common talk and jokes. M.T. Baker, the first CMS woman missionary to Ankole, reported in her annual letter of 1904:

> We had a big thunderstorm when we were in church this afternoon and afterwards the king sent us down a washing basin full of hail-stones which he had collected. He sent them down for us to look at.[63]

In short, all the energies and benefits of the early CMS missionaries were first enjoyed by the Bahima alone.

2.4 Why the Missionaries Concentrated on the Bahima

The CMS effort to convert the king, the chiefs and the Bahima ethnic group was part of the general policy of the CMS mission in Uganda to begin by capturing the traditional political centres of power in the kingdoms of Uganda.[64] Studies from

other parts of Africa show that this method of evangelising through the local polities was a general CMS missionary strategy at the time. When Henry Morton Stanley suggested this strategy for the evangelisation of the central areas of Africa, the CMS readily accepted it. The CMS missionaries directed their efforts towards capturing the centre of power in Buganda. Alexander Mackay, the chief architect of the Buganda mission from 1878 to 1890, vehemently endeavoured not only to convert Kabaka Mutesa and his successor Kabaka Mwanga, but also to lay hold of their authority and to invest it in his Christian converts.[65] The same objective was shared by the Roman Catholic Mission of the White Fathers, and by the Muslim party. Failing at the outset, but determined to succeed, they plunged Buganda into the turmoil of the 1880s and 1890s. The subject of controversy among the three was the office of the Kabaka, as Bishop Tucker remarked:

> A Romish (*sic*) king upon the throne would be an enormous advantage in the propagation of the faith and in the extension of the political influence of France in that central region of the great continent of Africa.[66]

> Determined to get the office of the Kabaka on his side Bishop A.Tucker enlisted the assistance of the British government.[67] The CMS mission emerged the winner. When Kabaka Mwanga was deported in 1897, the Anglican chiefs secured his one-year-old son, Chwa, and made him the *Kabaka*, and the CMS mission became responsible for his upbringing.[68]

Even discounting its later consequences, the alliance between the CMS mission and the indigenous leadership in Buganda produced wonderful results. The Anglican *Baganda* chiefs were a great asset in the Buganda CMS mission. In most cases the decision to begin the evangelisation of the countryside came not from the missionaries but from the chiefs. Bishop Tucker reported that thirty-seven chiefs were calling

missionaries to their counties to help them build up local churches.[69] The chiefs provided for the catechists and contributed materially in putting up church buildings. In short, they helped the Anglican church in Buganda to grow and expand so rapidly that by 1908 it was regarded by the CMS headquarters in London as "a Christian miracle of modern days" totalling "thirty thousand Christians under Christian chiefs".[70]

Encouraged by Buganda's impressive results, the CMS applied the same strategy of winning the local polities to other kingdoms, beginning with the kingdom of Toro in western Uganda. Toro was the second kingdom to Buganda to be evangelised by the CMS. The CMS mission ensured that the king, Kasagama, became their close ally, to the extent that he was referred to as "a missionary king".[71]

The evangelisation of the third kingdom, Bunyoro, also followed a parallel course to that of Buganda. After the capture and defeat of Kabarega by the British colonists in 1899, the CMS was anxious to have Kitahimbwa, one of the sons of Kabarega, appointed king. Their wish was fulfilled. Kitahimbwa had been educated by the CMS mission in Buganda, and baptised by Bishop Tucker. Soon after, however, the CMS mission regretted that he did not set a Christian example for his subjects, and the mission was happy when the British administration deposed him in 1902 and replaced him with his brother, Andereya Duhaga, with whom the mission maintained a close intimate relationship.[72]

The two missionary political alliances, in Toro and Bunyoro, also produced encouraging results, though not to the same degree as in Buganda. In Toro, a number of chiefs and other people were baptised in the Anglican church as an expression of their loyalty to the king.[73] During his visit to Toro in 1899, Bishop Tucker was

satisfied with the mission work that was taking place there, because he found "everything prospering greatly", and the king displaying zeal to support the work.[74] According to Hansen, Andereya Duhaga behaved in every way as a Christian king in Bunyoro and "the Christianisation of the kingship probably succeeded in Bunyoro more than anywhere else".[75] For Louise Pirouet also comments that Duhaga "gave the CMS missionaries every possible support, and his people every possible encouragement to become Christians, and set an example which won him the praise of the mission".[76]

Hence it is hardly surprising that the CMS mission adopted the same approach in the evangelisation of Ankole. It is also important to observe that the conditions that the missionaries found in Ankole encouraged them to keep consistently to that method. In 1899 when Bishop Tucker visited the capital of Ankole, he had noticed that unlike the king and other chiefs, Mbaguta, the prime-minister, was "a progressive man whose house and surroundings were after the Buganda pattern". Bishop Tucker saw in Mbaguta a resourceful person for the work of the mission in Ankole and the conversion of Ankole. He observed that Mbaguta was a man who was very receptive to new ideas, particularly those that worked to his advantage:

> Mbaguta has discarded to a large extent the dress or rather the undress of the Bahuma (*sic*) and generally appears clad like a Muganda. His household is arranged after the fashion of the Baganda and so far as instruction in Christianity would improve his standing in the world he would I believe accept it.[77]

Clayton had made the same observation to that effect, during his first visit of Ankole in May, 1899. He also noticed that Mbaguta was different from the king and his conservative chiefs who were against the intoduction of Christianity in Ankole but he feared to take a different line from them because of his personal safety:

> We are staying in some huts belonging to the Katikiro whose name is Baguta (*sic*). He seems a decent sort of man and he says he would like to read only he is afraid of the king and the old heathen, his chief advisers. He says that if he were to start reading the others would secretly get rid of him lest in time to come he should drive out the king, as they say the Katikiro of Buganda drove out Mwanga.[78]

While at his former mission station in Koki, Clayton had also gathered that the conversion of the king of Ankole would mean the conversion of the people.[79] In fact some of the chiefs told Clayton that their decision to accept reading with the mission was pending that of the *Omugabe*:

> When the chief of this place (Nshara) brought the food for the porters this evening, I showed him the harmonium and told him something about Christ. When I asked him if he wished to read and learn more about our religion he replied: "when the king Kawaya (*sic*) is reading, shall I refuse?".[80]

From the comment then Clayton inferred:

> This I expect will be the general feeling all over the country. It shows what an influence the king and chiefs have over the people, and gives us a great opportunity of teaching.[81]

Hence, the pioneer missionaries to Ankole were very much convinced that to begin with the king and the chiefs and to have them converted first would pay them dividends.

Furthermore, Kahaya's and Mbaguta's response to the pioneer European missionaries was warm and very impressive. These missionaries tell of the wonderful reception - the liberality and the generosity - that they received at the hand of the king and the prime minister. On 7 January 1901, two days after Willis's and Clayton's arrival at the king's capital, Clayton reported that Kahaya and Mbaguta were very willing to supply them with food:

> We shall do very well here I think in the way of food. Baguta (*sic*) the Katikiro said this morning that he would make us a present of thirty sheep, so that we might have plenty of meat and that when these are finished Kawaya (*sic*) will give us more.[82]

In fact Mbaguta added another ten to the thirty he had promised, and gave them forty sheep; and he gave them the labour to build a small hut to accommodate the sheep.[83] Willis and Clayton received such supplies of food from the king and the *Enganzi* that at one point they went so far as to compare Ankole with Canaan, as Clayton wrote: "This is literally a land flowing with milk and honey".[84]

In a similar mood Willis told in his annual letter of 1901 of the lavish material support that Clayton and he had received in Ankole:

> Nothing could exceed the kindness of our reception here, and never was pioneer work undertaken under more favourable conditions. It is impossible to enumerate all we have received: cows, sheep,and goats - about 150 sheep and goats in successive presents - labour to build houses and out houses, daily supply of food, and many other things, until one has felt really embarrassed... Not a single request of any kind has been refused.[85]

The chiefs also were very cooperative with the CMS mission; according to Willis, "supplying their quota of men and material".[86]

The rivalry between the CMS mission and the Roman-Catholic mission of the White Fathers increased the degree of CMS mission concentration on the Bahima leadership in Ankole. As has been shown, aware of the problem, the CMS mission did not want to be involved in this competition in Ankole where it counted on the advantage of having already won the leadership to its side, as Clayton aptly declared in November 1902: "We have the advantage of having been first in the field, and we have obtained the king and katikiro".[87] The initial CMS mission approach to this problem was to exclude the White Fathers mission from Ankole altogether, and having failed in this plan to exclude the Roman Catholics from Ankole, it firmly tightened its grip on the leadership of Ankole lest they should lose it to their contenders. In fact, Racey helped the CMS mission again to import to Ankole some

Anglican Baganda Christians who were made chiefs to boost the Anglican cause:

> Our Collector Mr. Racey, seems anxious to help us as much as he can. He has just imported three keen Christian men from Buganda and has given them chieftainship in different parts of the country, that they may have a good educational influence on the people. They will of course build churches at once at their places and will probably act as teachers without pay, so I hope they will be of great use.[88]

2.5 The Missionary Outreach to the Bairu

It took the CMS mission time to reach out to the Bairu. For the first two decades of its presence in Ankole, the CMS mission had concentrated its efforts on the Bahima. The top priority of the mission was to evangelise the capital; a method that from the outset excluded the Bairu, who did not live anywhere near the capital. Similarly the mission's first attempts to extend its work from the capital to the 'regions beyond' did not benefit the Bairu either. The extension was carried out to the centres of the chieftains. For example, J.J. Willis reported in November 1902 that the mission had placed catechists at most of the headquarters of a number of chiefs in the kingdom:

> We have now eleven out stations in Ankole which is most encouraging in a pioneer field. Most teachers are stationed at headquarters of sazas (counties) most of which are occupied.[89]

These counties were being staffed by the Bahima chiefs, and the Bahima formed the majority in the chiefs' residences. The Bairu only visited them occasionally, bringing in their tribute, but they were not permanent residents there.[90] This point is corroborated by the fact that the pioneer catechists found little cultivation being done at the headquarters of these counties. The chiefs, like their overlord the *Omugabe* were pastoralists, largely dependent on milk for food, and almost independent of the vegetable food.[91] The pioneer catechists, being agriculturalists, that is

Baganda and Batoro, were vegetable eaters; and they suffered scarcity of food at these centres. J.J. Willis found it a great setback to the expansion of the mission work:

> From almost every out station there comes in periodical complaints of hunger, while repeatedly the teachers had to be withdrawn, and the work temporarily dropped for want of food.[92]

Furthermore, the mission's strategy of converting the leadership in order that they might effect the conversion of the rest of the population could not be effective with the Bairu, who were under no obligation to follow the lead of the Bahima in religious matters. It is important to note that, for all the domination the Bairu suffered at the hand of the Bahima, it was not in things pertaining to religion. In Ankole tradition the Bairu enjoyed exclusive right in the religious sphere, and Bairu religious personages and experts handled all matters pertaining to religion both among themselves and for the Bahima, including the *Omugabe*. The vast majority of the *Omugabe's* diviners, doctors, rain makers, herbalists and medicine men were all Bairu.[93] Clayton's story from his first visit to Ankole in 1899 about the *Omugabe* and a rain maker hints at this point:

> The Bahima believe strongly in rain makers. One of the officers in the fort told me that the other day he had to settle a case between the king and a rain maker. It appears that the usual price for rain making is a sheep, but this man demanded a cow and the king thought it was too much.[94]

Although Clayton does not tell us whether the rain maker was a *Mwiru* or a *Muhima*, there is no doubt that he was a *Mwiru* judging from the dues of a sheep that the *Omugabe* was insisting on paying him. No *Muhima* could be paid sheep for his labour since it was taboo for the Bahima to eat mutton or wear the sheepskin.[95] In addition, had the rain-maker been a *Muhima*, it is unlikely that the king would have hesitated paying him with a cow because the exhange of cows among the Bahima was

carried out on even less weighty matters than rain making.

In September 1908 Clayton made an assessment of the mission's work on the out-stations, and reported that in all the seventeen churches that the mission had opened all over Ankole, the Bairu could scarcely be found:

> The great difficulty at all these places is to get hold of the Baeru (sic) who are the cultivators of the soil and a distinct race from the cattle keeping Bahima.[96]

However, the opening up of a missionary pastorate at Kitojo in 1913 to serve Sheema and Igara, which had a heavy concentration of Bairu settlement, brought about a surprising result in the accession of Bairu to the CMS mission. The pastorate was an expansion of Kitojo out-station. Kitojo was Mbaguta's headquarters for his chieftain of Sheema. In addition to being Ankole's prime-minister, Mbaguta held the chieftainships of Sheema, Nshara, and Isingiro, over which he was also the county chief. This was his reward from the British administration for his collaboration. In fact the chieftainship of Sheema had been directly passed to him from Prince Igumira, who had been banished from Ankole for resisting the British administration.[97] Kitojo received its first catechist in 1906, a man called Yoweri Daki, who was an able teacher and preacher. He stayed at Kitojo until 1913.[98] Mbaguta fully supported and cared for him, and constantly invited the European missionaries to supplement Daki's preaching and teaching. After one of her visits there Miss M.T. Baker, for example, reported:

> On December 30, 1907 I went to the Katikiro's country place, about twenty seven miles away. I found he had built me a nice little house and made every arrangement for my comfort for the six weeks I was going to be there, and had given orders that the Christian wives of all his young chiefs were to come there to read.[99]

Mbaguta also encouraged his sub-county chiefs to appeal for catechists from Mbarara

to be placed at their headquarters. As a result of this by 1910 there were three out-stations in Sheema, namely: Bugongi, Kyagaju and Kitojo; and the church was well established there.[100] As a result a pastorate was established over this area with Kitojo as the centre.

The pastorate was put under the charge of a Muganda clergyman, the Reverend Silasi Aliwonya. He was a very hard-working man and an experienced evangelist. He had been ordained by Bishop Tucker at Namirembe in 1897; before which he had served as a catechist with a CMS European missionary, George Baskerville, in Kyagwe in Buganda. After his ordination, he came to work in Koki, where he gave exemplary service, before coming to Ankole in 1913.[101]

Aliwonya penetrated deep into the villages of the Bairu and brought many of them to catechism classes. The returns in numbers baptised became apparent. At the end of 1913, the year he arrived, he baptised forty-six people; and the following year the number rose to three hundred and forty-seven. These included both Bahima and Bairu but the majority were undoubtedly Bairu, as they were the predominant residents in the area. In fact, in 1913, Miss M.T. Baker reported "500 or more Bairu" coming to service on Sundays at Kitojo.[102] Consequently the numbers for baptism doubled for the CMS mission in Ankole in 1914, and the mission sold six hundred scripture portions, which was the highest number sold in the whole CMS Uganda mission.[103]

As a result, the CMS mission realised that it was well worth the effort to seek to evangelise the Bairu. In November 1914 the Rev. H.J. Wright, who worked for the whole of that year in charge of the mission in Ankole, emphasised the mission's obligation to extend its mission to the Bairu. He remarked:

> Yet the marked note of the work is extension, that among the indigenous peasant population, as opposed to their rulers, the aristocratic Bahima (cowherds).[104]

This awakening was interrupted by the first world war, but by 1920 the CMS mission was unquestionably aware of the resourcefulness of the Bairu in its enterprise. The Bairu had overtaken the Bahima in response and the mission could now see that the future of the Anglican church in Ankole lay with the Bairu. Writing a report on the CMS Uganda mission in 1922, the missionary secretary, the Rev. Boulton Landbury, identified the Bairu as the hope of the church in Ankole:

> The hope of the church there seems to be in the despised peasant, or slave class known as Bairu. These respond to the preaching of the gospel; and it is from their ranks that ninety nine per cent of the church's workers are to be found.[105]

Another factor that made the CMS mission turn to the Bairu was the arrival of the Catholic White Fathers mission. As has been shown, arriving a year after the CMS mission, the White Fathers did not try to compete with the CMS mission for their converted Bahima chiefs, and for the Bahima. Instead they turned to Bairu and began to have a higher response from the Bairu than the CMS mission was having from the Bahima. The CMS quickly noticed this challenge. For example, the Rev. W.E. Owen, who was the missionary in charge in Ankole, recorded in his annual letter of 1909:

> In the abundance of its missionary zeal the Roman Catholic church compels our fervent admiration.

A year later, Mrs. Hilda Clayton, immediately after returning to Ankole with her husband Herbert Clayton, who was to be the head of the mission, lamented the industry of the White Fathers mission in winning her converts to their side:

> I saw the Roman Catholic priests had been around since my last visit giving away medals to the children of one of the women who reads

> with us. They leave no stones unturned to cajole the people to go to them to be taught.

The new Catholic challenge ought to have posed a great threat to the CMS mission. It must be remembered that the two missions were operating within a tense atmosphere of rivalry and competition. In the context of this rivalry and competition, the marked Catholic success in evangelising the Bairu compelled the CMS mission to revise its strategy and to widen its horizons to the Bairu.

It should also be noted that towards the end of the CMS mission's first decade in Ankole, the fervent reception that the mission had received from the Bahima seems to have cooled. In 1908, for example, W.E. Owen aptly reported in his annual letter:

> The work here in Mbarara, has during the year been unfortunately marked by decline, which has saddened us to witness.[106]

By the same year the number of men willing to be catechists had dropped considerably; and it was complained that the few who were coming up lacked vigour and the commitment for the work. There was also a marked decline in the number of people registering for baptism, and baptised Bahima converts were lapsing. Saddened by this state of affairs, Clayton wrote in December 1910:

> We have been grieved to hear of some of our Christians who have read for baptism, and been baptised, and who have gone back to their cows, and seem to have forgotten all they had learnt, and who in some cases have gone back to heathen practices.[107]

The same lack of enthusiasm was also noted among the Bahima chiefs. In 1910 Clayton also reported that it was the Baganda chiefs who were furthering the interests of the mission whereas most of the Bahima chiefs were not. In places where there were no churches or teachers, the Baganda chiefs were gathering the children in their neighbourhood, and teaching them as regularly as their work could allow. On the other hand, many of the Bahima chiefs were not doing "anything in the way of

teaching the heathen around, or even their own baptised children".[108] It is possible that this fluctuation in response from the Bahima was an important factor which led the CMS mission to consider widening its horizons to include the Bairu who were already responding to the White Fathers mission.

Notes - Chapter Two

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3. R. Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (London, 1952), p.138.

4. A. Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa* (London, 1911), p.270.

5. J.V. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Uganda* (London, 1958), p.263.

6. *Ibid.*, p.265.

7. M.L. Pirouet, *Black Evangelists: the spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891-1914* (London, 1978), pp.118-19.

8. Letter, Sir Gerald Portal to Lady Charlotte Portal, 7 April 1893, in G. Portal, *The British Mission to Uganda in 1893* (London, 1894), p.226.

9. Letter, G. Portal to C. Portal, *ibid.*, p.226.

10. Pirouet, 'Extension to the West', pp.31-4.

11. G. Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: a history of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942* (London, 1972), p.205.

12. B. Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag* (Leicester, 1990), p.129.

13. E. Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, III, 1899, p.440.

14. For a detailed account, see Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, pp.115-120.

15. *Ibid.*, p.115.

16. *Ibid.*, p.116.

17. Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, p.278.

18. *Ibid.*, p.277.

19. T.B. Johnson, *Tramps round the Mountains of the Moon and through the Back Gate of the Congo State* (London, 1908), p.185.

20. Kamugungunu and Katate, *Abagabe B'Ankole* II, p.20; see also Maari, 'The Growth of the Anglican Church in Ankole', pp.134-135.

21. Tourigny, *So Abundant a Harvest* (London, 1979), p.56.

22. *Ibid.*, p.57.

23. *Ibid.*, p.614.

24. Racey to the Commissioner, 18 January 1901, file No.C58, Uganda National Archives, Entebbe. Racey was the British District Officer in Ankole, 1899-1902.

25. Clayton to Parents, 2 June 1902.

26. Maari, 'The Growth of the Anglican Church in Ankole', p.19.

27. Kamugungunu and Katate, *Abagabe B'Ankole*, p.71.

28. *Ibid.*, p.18; see also Morris, 'The Making of Ankole', pp.12-13.

29. V. Spaandonk, 'Ebyabeireho by "Eitware rya Mbarara"', (typescript, Mbarara, 1972), pp.5-6.

30. Bishop Streicher's instruction to Gorju and Varagot, W.P., September 1902, Nyamitanga archives.

31. Byabazaire, *The Contribution of the Christian Churches to the Development of Western Uganda*, pp.50-51.

32. Maari, 'The Growth of the Anglican Church in Ankole', p.21.

33. Clayton to Parents, 26 February 1901.

34. Clayton to Parents, 31 March 1901.

35. Clayton to Parents, 4 May 1901.

36. Willis Journal, 1 January 1901, Microfilm Makerere University Library.

37. Fisher to Baylis, 28 May 1902, CMSA.

38. Miss A.H. Robinson, Annual letter, October 1907, CMSA.

39. Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, 1923.

40. *Ibid.*, p.99.

41. Doornbos, *Not All the King's Men*, p.32.

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43. H.E. Maddox to Secretary CMS, 15 July 1901, CMSA.

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45. Interview: L. Binaisa.

46. Cf. P.G. Powesland, *Economic Policy and Labour* (Kampala, 1957), pp.9-10.

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48. Report of Sir Harry Johnston, Commission to Uganda (1899-1901), p.6, File no.32, Uganda National Archives, Entebbe.

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51. Clayton to parents, 6 July 1904.

52. J.J. Willis, Annual letter, 29 October 1903, CMSA.

53. W.E. Owen, Annual letter, 20 November 1907, CMSA.

54. J.J. Willis, Annual letter, 30 October 1902, CMSA.

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56. Clayton to parents, 8 January 1901.

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60. Clayton, Annual letter, 21 October 1903.

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62. Clayton to parents, 17 February 1904.

63. Baker, Annual letter, 9 November 1904, CMSA.

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65. S.R. Karugire, 'The arrival of the European Missionaries', in T. Tuma and P. Mutibwa (eds), *A Century of Christianity in Uganda 1877-1977* (Nairobi, Uzima Press, 1978)

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74. Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, p.282.

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76. Pirouet, *Black Evangelist*, p.89.

77. Tucker, 'Missionary journey', 1899 typescript, CMSA.

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81. Clayton to parents, 26 June 1900.

82. Clayton to parents, 7 January 1901.

83. Clayton to parents, 11 January 1901.

84. Clayton to parents, 13 January 1901.

85. Willis, Annual letter, 29 October 1901, CMSA.

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87. Clayton to parents, 22 November 1902.

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89. Mengo Notes, vol.2, November 1910, Makerere University Library.

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91. Roscoe, *The Banyankore*, p.72.

92. Willis, Annual letter, 1902, CMSA.

93. Stenning, 'The Nyankore', p.151.

94. Clayton to parents, 3 December 1899.

95. Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, p.217.

96. *Uganda Notes*, September 1908, Makerere University Library.

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CHAPTER THREE

BAIRU-BAHIMA INTERACTION IN CHURCH AND SCHOOL, 1920-1945

The interwar period was a decisive one as far as Anglican Christianity and the Bahima-Bairu relations were concerned. First, it became clear that the church being founded by the CMS mission in Ankole would accommodate both the Bairu and the Bahima. Although the Bahima maintained greater executive authority in church matters than the Bairu, the latter became predominant in the full-time work of the church. Secondly, the mission school programme which had been undertaken for the benefit of the Bahima experienced a big influx of the Bairu during this period. Thirdly, a new spiritual movement, the East African Revival, struck the church and inspired a completely new perspective on the Bairu-Bahima relations.

3.1 Bairu-Bahima Interaction in Church

3.1.1 Bairu church workers

In the 1920s and 1930s the Anglican Church pushed on with the strategy of evangelising both the Bairu and the Bahima. It demonstrated its commitment to the principle of ethnic mixing within the church by admitting an *Omwiru*, Semei Kashenya, to the order of deacon in 1924[1] and to the priesthood in 1926. This was only the second ordination in Ankole; the first one being that of Yoweri Buningwire, who entered these orders in 1916 and 1918 respectively. In 1924 Kashenya was posted to Kitojo, to work under Silas Aliwonya among his fellow Bairu.[2] In 1928 he was posted to Bweranyangi to pioneer a new parish which extended over the whole of the western

half of Ankole.[3] Though the greater part of the population of this part of Ankole were Bairu, the Bahima were also scattered all over it, occupying the low-lying plain areas of Kitagata, and Mitooma. Kashenya was an able personality, an excellent preacher and a skilful pastor of the people. At Bweranyangi, he was nicknamed '*Rurangira rwa Bweranyangi*' (literally, the thundering voice of Bweranyangi) referring to his gift of preaching. The people of Bweranyangi responded very favourably to his ministry and many of them flocked to the church as Ankole's rural dean described in 1928:

> There is a mass movement towards Christianity in the county of Igara to the west of Ankole, and the native pastor and his teachers are overwhelmed by the crowds of men and women seeking to be instructed in the Christian faith.[4]

In 1931 another *Omwiru*, Lazaro Tibesaasa was admitted to the office of deacon, and made a curate at St. James, Mbarara working under the Yoweri Buningwire and Arthur Clarke. Two years later, he was ordained a priest, and sent to start a new parish at Kagamba which comprised the counties of Kajara and Rubare. The latter county was predominantly Bahima whereas the former was largely occupied by the Bairu. Sezi Gunula, also an *Omwiru*, was made a deacon in 1933. In 1939 he was sent to start a new parish at Nsika in Buhweju to serve *Abalisa* (Bahima) of Buhweju.[5]

With these ordinations, the number of the Bairu in the ordained ministry overtook that of the Bahima. As compared with the three Bairu clergymen, there were only two Bahima clergymen, Yoweri Buningwire and Erica Sabiti, who was ordained a deacon in 1933 and a priest in 1935. On the catechist level, church work was also in the hands of the Bairu. The Bairu found church work and teaching to be an immediate source of salaried employment, while the Bahima remained content with

their traditional role of political leadership and pastoralism.

Similarly, betweeen the 1920s and 1940s the church grew much more rapidly among the Bairu than among the Bahima. All the centres except one of the parish centres which were founded during this period were set up in the predominantly Bairu areas: Bweranyangi (1926), Kagamba (1934), and Kinoni (1939). Nsiika (1939), located among the Bahima ruling clan of Buhweju, was the only exception.

What was the reaction of the Bahima to this influx of the Bairu in the church? There is little indication from the missionary reports that there was any noticeable reaction. The general impression one gets from the reports of the early churchmen such as Tibesaasa, Tibekinga and Kituna is that most Christian Bahima were comparatively unconcerned about the new trend and happily let the Bairu take their new positions in the church.[6] The Bahima continued to identify themselves with the Anglican Church, regarding it as *eky'Omugabe* (the religious party of the King). In St. James's Church at Ruharo the *Omugabe's* chair stood next to the communion table in front of the rest of the congregation. All over the deanery, prayers for the Omugabe were said after those for the King of England.

Nonetheless, not every Muhima welcomed the idea of having Bairu clergymen, and there were scattered expressions of protest from some individual Bahima against being taught and preached at by the Bairu. For example, L. Tibesaasa told me that some of the Bahima from his parish went to Ruharo for their Catechism, so that they might be baptised by the Rev. Y. Buningwire instead of him. Tibekinga also told me that during his time as a catechist in Nyabushozi, some of the Bahima would ask him how many cows he had at home. When he told them that he did not have any cattle, they would shake their heads in disgust and would not want to hear anything from

him.[7] However, such voices of protest were isolated, and on the whole the Bahima were happy to leave church work to the Bairu and indeed set a higher value on positions of influence in the political sphere.

For example, many Bahima opposed the idea of Erica Sabiti working for the church; instead, local government officials wanted him in their service, as one of the missionaries described in 1925:

> From time to time since he (Sabiti) left Budo the government have wanted him in their service; and his brother who is one of the big chiefs here has tried to persuade him many times to give up mission work and to accept a chieftainship.[8]

It is not clear why the Bahima, on the whole, readily accepted the Bairu's leadership in the church. Did the Bahima see the assumption of church work by the Bairu as a continuation of their traditional role, since the Bairu had a monopoly of the traditional religious ritual? While such parallels may have had some influence, it is important to note that Anglican Christianity in Ankole was introduced as a completely new religion, and did not seek to build on the old traditional order.[9] Nonetheless, it is worthwhile noting as well that the lifestyle of the pioneers of Christianity, the Baganda and Europeans, resembled the lifestyle of the Bairu more than that of the Bahima. These pioneers were vegetarians, and they mainly encouraged an agricultural economy, more of gardens than cows, at the mission stations.

According to some of the early churchmen such as L. Tibekinga, and Y. Kamujanduzi, the Bahima were happy to leave church leadership to the Bairu because church work was badly paid and because they were preoccupied with more lucrative service in local government, where as chiefs they could continue to exercise the role they believed was theirs by right of birth.[10] In their opinion, the Bahima despised church work, and it was not odd that the Bairu took up such work.

There is some evidence to commend this view. The missionaries' attempt to make the Ugandan Church self supporting was one-sided. Secure as they were, with all their provisions supplied from home, they emphasized sacrificial service at the expense of sacrificial giving, and did little to alleviate the appalling financial situation of their African co-workers whose pay depended on the amount raised by their churches. It seems likely that this serious weakness affected most if not all of the Protestant missions in Africa. The stipends of the catechists and African clergy, in Ankole and the whole Uganda Mission were at a miserable level throughout the missionary period. The salaries were raised on the principle defined in 1913, that: "Voluntary contributions support the personnel and involuntary contributions support the material".[11] For example, officially the stipend of an African pastor in 1930 was 480 shillings, equivalent to £24, a year, and the stipend of the local catechist was 16 shillings (£0.75) a year.[12] However, not many of them received these stipends in full because few congregations in Ankole could raise the amount.

Superficially, the Bairu' leadership in the church might seem nothing new - merely a perpetuation of the traditional pattern of confining the Bairu's tangible influence to the sphere of religious ritual. However, at a more fundamental level, it signified a tremendous change in Bairu-Bahima relations. Church work was poorly paid but it conferred a high social status in Ankole. European missionaries, like the rest of the Europeans in Uganda, enjoyed a prestigious position.[13] Some of the Banyankore believed that Europeans were super-human, and the lifestyle of most of the missionaries' life-style promoted this 'super-human image' among their converts. In 1902, Willis wanted his colleague Clayton to be welcomed back to Ankole from his furlough in pomp and honour. Willis asked all the chiefs to be present in their best

clothes, and borrowed a mule from the British Collector for Clayton "to ride in state".[14] Missionaries also kept numerous African domestic servants. At one time the Claytons reported having eight of them:

> We have 8 boys... At present 2 cook, 2 do our bedroom, washing and ironing and boot cleaning, two are table boys and cream the milk and do lamps and two more wash up and do a variety of odd jobs.[15]

The practice of keeping domestic servants persisted throughout the missionary period, and all the missionary residences had a 'boys quarters'.

Although the African church workers did not inherit all the glory of the European missionary, they were invested with a sufficient amount of it to enable them to be treated with considerable respect in Ankole society. Although they were not believed to be super-human, were seen as experts of the *Kijungu dini* (European religion), being able to read and write, the mechanics of which fascinated many *Banyankore*. They were referred to as *abantu ba Ruhanga* (the people of God).[16]

The Bairu clergy and catechists entered into a special relationship with the Bahima chiefs, and the two groups enjoyed each other's company. Since Anglican Christianity was regarded as the 'king's religion', the chiefs were expected to support the workers of the church and to mobilise their subjects in the cause of church work. Following the example of the main mission station being sited near the *Omugabe's* residence at Mbarara out-station, church pastorates were set up close to the seats of the chiefs, such as Kitojo near Nuha Mbaguta's (1913), Ibanda near Juliya Kibubura's (1918), Bweranyangi near George Togo's (1926), and Kagamba near Simei Mbyazarwa's. In fact, when a new county chief, Christopher Kafureka, moved his residence from Kagamba to Rwashamaire in the 1939, the parish centre was also transferred to Kitunga, a hill immediately opposite to Rwashamaire.[17] The chiefs

contributed financial and material support to the catechists and clergy. For example, Kibubura personally paid the stipends of most of the catechists in her sub-county.[18] Ernest Katungi, the county chief of Rwampara, also provided *orutookye* (a garden of green bananas) and built a house for the pastor at Kinoni.[19] The present cathedral at Ruharo was built between 1932 and 1935 through the endeavours of the *Omugabe*, the *Enganzi* and chiefs, having been inspired by the example of Bunyoro:

> The Banyankole, having heard of the beautiful church that the Banyoro have built at Hoima, are consumed with jealousy and are putting forth efforts to build a big church also. Beauty makes no appeal to them, only largeness is to be aimed at.[20]

According to Maari, the missionaries, including Clarke, the rural dean, did not believe that such a large church was necessary, nor that the Banyankore would be able to afford it.[21]

In addition, the Bairu pastors and catechists ministered to all the parishioners, both Bairu and Bahima, in their churches. According to L. Tibesaasa, the pastor administered baptism and communion to and celebrated marriage for all within his parish unless he was forced to be absent.[22] Tibesaasa remembers how his congregation was particularly amazed to see the *Omugabe* obey his commands of 'sit' or 'kneel' as he, an *Omwiru*, led in Sunday worship at Ruharo in 1933.

Furthermore, by incorporating the Bairu and Bahima in one church, Anglican Christianity created a new group of believers, drawn from the two ethnic groups who were distinct from the non-Christians, and who were regularly exposed to the ideals of the Christian faith particularly through preaching. Bairu and Bahima Christians were kept in close social contact through worshipping together and joint participation in church meetings and councils.

3.1.2 Preaching

From the beginning of the Anglican Church in Ankole, preaching occupied a central place in the life of both the CMS mission and the emerging church, and was given exceptional emphasis, in comparison with the Roman Catholic Church which emphasised meditation and the Mass.[23] Preaching was the mission's chief strategy in its proselytising work. All the pioneer missionaries emphasised that it was for the preaching of the gospel they had come; and in the early years, preaching both at the main station, Mbarara, and at the out-stations during their itineraries, occupied their time. In addition, these early missionaries were keen that their converts should immediately join them in the preaching of the gospel. It is true that by the 1930s preaching was no longer a primary activity of most of the CMS missionaries in Ankole, apart from the missionary in charge of the deanery. Even he could not do much of it because of the increasing pressure of other administrative responsibilities.[24] However, preaching never lost its centrality in the church. It was taken up by the Baganda, Batoro, and Banyankore clergy and catechists, who made it their primary task in their pastoral work. At a later date, the same emphasis on preaching was perpetuated by the members of the Revival Movement. In fact, by the 1930s preaching was not only a method for converting the *abakafire* (those without religion) but had also become such an important feature in nurturing the converts that it superseded all the other elements of Christian nurture in prominence. It was used in propounding the gospel and the ideals of the church. According to the testimony of Tibesaasa and Tibekinga, all the other elements of worship, that is collects, Bible readings, creeds, prayers or even Communion, could be omitted, but not the sermon, lest the congregation felt spiritually dissatisfied with that worship.[25]

It appears that missionary preaching in Ankole before 1945 included hardly any explicit teaching about Bairu-Bahima relations. Although the European missionaries did not leave texts of their sermons, testimony from early Banyankore churchmen, such as L. Mutashwera and A. Katebaka is that they did not remember such teaching being given in church. Some of the clergy and catechists who worked in the church at the time, such as L. Tibesaasa, L. Tibekinga, and E. Iringaniza said that they could not preach against Bahima domination because to do so was regarded as *okucumuura aha Omugabe* (challenging and blaspheming against the king). They said that if the missionaries or the clergy had done so, they would have lost the crucial support of the *Omugabe* and the chiefs.[26] In addition, it must be observed that the CMS Uganda Mission was not keen on dealing with social issues. For instance, in 1921 George Garrett was transferred from Mengo to Mbarara, allegedly because "it was feared that his (Garrett's) very strong Protestant views might enhance the party feelings in Buganda". In fact, it is clear that Garrett was sympathetic to the *Bataka* Movement which was agitating for restoration of land to the peasants in Buganda.[27]

Nevertheless, although missionary preaching did not address Ankole's ethnic question directly, it contained implicitions for community life. It seems reasonable to assume that it sometimes communicated Christian social ideals such as brotherly love, and justice, although it must be conceded that, like in the case of evangelical Christian preaching in Britain at that time, such social teaching was more often implicit than explicit. The historian is on safe ground in suggesting that since the CMS mission in Ankole based its preaching on the Bible, and strongly emphasised reading of the Bible among their converts, the Banyankore found texts which could speak for themselves about their social life. The Banyankore did not have a full translation of

the Bible in their language, but they had one in *Lunyoro/Rutoro*, a language akin to theirs and spoken in the central part of Western Uganda by the *Batoro* and *Banyoro*. From the beginning, the CMS Uganda mission was committed to the use of local languages and believed that a full understanding of them by the missionaries was the best way of communicating the gospel. However, faced with the number of dialects in Uganda, and influenced also by the imperial interests of British Protectorate, the CMS abandoned this ideal. They feared that the promotion of a multiplicity of dialects would "hinder trade and the spread of ideas".[28] Instead the CMS promoted three languages, *Luganda* in the central and east, *Lunyoro* in the west, and *Luo* in the north.

The preached message was received as God's message and aimed at evoking a response among all its hearers, be they Bairu or Bahima. Those who responded were admitted to the catechumen classes which lasted for nine months. The classes instructed believers in the rudiments of Christianity. Central to this instruction was the 'catechism', whose main content was the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist. (These had been translated in a booklet entitled *Amateeka*, 1928, literally meaning 'laws'.) The overall aim of the catechism was to enable the converts to know their duty towards God and their fellow men. The classes also taught reading and writing. Both Bairu and Bahima were required to master the catechism and reading and writing. They were subjected to a qualifying examination for baptism which consisted in reciting the catechism and in the *okushoma bw'eino* (reading of a Biblical text without stumbling over words).[29]

A day before the baptism, all the candidates were required to have their hair shaven, and have their baptismal robes inspected by the church wardens and the catechists. These robes had to be white in colour. At baptism, the converts were

given new names, either English or Biblical in derivation rather than *Kinyankore* names. Baptism injected a new and specifically spiritual dimension into the Bairu-Bahima relations beyond the social interaction; it conscientiously undermined the religious traditions which supported Bahima domination. Anglican Christianity had adopted a negative attitude to these traditions, branding them *sitaane* (the works of the devil). The *Abacwezi*, who in traditional belief were the Bahima's ancestors and the source of health became the evil spirits in Christian teaching whom the converts denounced at the baptismal font.

Christian converts were expected to make a decisive break with tradition. For example, in 1902 Mbaguta surrended his traditional religious objects and articles to be thrown in bonfire.[30] Similarly Kahaya, immediately after his baptism in December 1902, beat the drum *Bangyendanwa*, breaking the tradition that Ankole's royal drum should be beaten by the King of Ankole only at his accession. Converts were encouraged to destroy the artefacts of their traditional beliefs and practices throughout the missionary period. Nevertheless, baptism did not in itself sever the converts' link with the traditional way of life. Most Bairu and Bahima Christians entertained their traditional social structures, holding to such traditions as taboos and totems.

3.1.3 Church Councils and Committees

Church councils and committees were another avenue through which Anglican Christianity's subtle but sustained ideological influence was exerted in the relationship between the Bairu and the Bahima in Ankole. In the Ugandan Anglican Church, church councils received exceptional emphasis. They were part and parcel of Bishop Tucker's design for the organisation of an indigenous church, for which he suffered

great opposition from his fellow missionaries, but at long last managed to establish throughout the Ugandan Church in 1909 (though not of course without compromise).[31]

According to this plan, the area worked by every CMS mission was to be divided into districts. Over each of these districts, a senior evangelist was to be placed, charged with the supervision of a network of small sub-congregations scattered over the district, each with its own resident evangelist. Eventually the senior evangelists would be ordained and their areas of jurisdiction promoted into pastorates; and some of the sub-districts would in turn grow up into pastorates, and new congregations would continue to form at the grass roots, at the village level.[32]

Every congregation was to have its council consisting of the evangelist and a group of local communicants. On an upward representational basis, church councils were also to form at the sub-district, district, and main mission station levels, leading finally to the diocesan synod. The decisions of each council would be forwarded to, and were subject to, the approval of the one above; it was the diocesan synod which had the final word and whose decisions would affect the Ugandan church as a whole.[33]

On the whole the church in Ankole developed in accordance with this plan. From the central CMS mission station at Mbarara many out-station churches were set up in the district by the catechists who continued to be in charge of them for a considerable time. In 1915 the Ankole mission church became a deanery, and some of the prominent out-station churches were promoted into pastorates and indigenous pastors appointed over them. In fact by 1950, ten pastorates had been established under the charge of the indigenous pastors, and the deanery had been subdivided into two - Bweranyangi and Mbarara - for west and east Ankole respectively.[34]

As Anglican Christianity embraced both the Bairu and the Bahima during the inter/war period, the impact of the councils on Bairu-Bahima relationships was a substantial one. First, most church councils consisted of both Bairu and Bahima, from the village level to the mission centre level. It must be noted that whereas some parts were more predominantly Bairu than Bahima, and vice versa, there was no part of Ankole which was exclusively either Bairu or Bahima. These councils provided an opportunity for both the Bairu and the Bahima to meet and exchange their ideas about their church as equals. Actually, most of these councils were presided over by the Bairu who formed the majority in the employment of the church.[35]

Secondly, church councils introduced the Christians to the principles of representational leadership and equal opportunities in the building of the church. All the Christians in the lower councils, for example, participated in the election of the representatives to higher councils, and Bairu and Bahima competed equally in those elections. In 1936 about 40% were Bahima, 25% Bairu, 10% Baganda/Batoro and 5% Europeans. By 1945 the number of the Bairu had increased to about 35%.[36] Additionally from 1915, when Ankole began to be represented at the diocesan synod by Banyankore Christians, the Ankole representatives were the *Omugabe*, the *Katikiro* and Y. Buningwire, all of whom were Bahima.[37] It was in 1926 that the first Mwiru, Simei Kashenya, became a member of the diocesan synod.[38] The Bahima dominated the church councils for so long in Ankole partly because, as has already been discussed, of the preeminence which they first enjoyed at the hands of the pioneer missionaries. Another factor was that the Bahima reaped the first fruits of missionary education and therefore led the way in Ankole as the elite.

Thirdly, church councils in Ankole were characterised by a spirit of open-mind

sharing of views. Although exceptional respect was accorded to the views of the influential members in the councils, such as the *Omugabe* or the European missionaries, the councils followed the view of the majority. For instance, when Arthur Clarke advocated building a smaller church at Ruharo in 1934, his view was not taken but that of the majority.

Fourthly, some of the resolutions adopted by various church councils undermined directly or indirectly the social inequalities in Ankole. For example, as will be shown below, the decision of the Ankole Deanery Council in 1938 to provide free education for the children of church teachers and workers helped to promote the education of the Bairu.

To sum up, the inter-war period was a watershed in the history of the Anglican Church in Ankole in connection with Bairu-Bahima relations. Very visibly the Anglican Church became an inter-ethnic church embracing both the Bairu and Bahima. The former predominated in number and in the full-time work of the church. Nonetheless, the latter kept a firm identification with Anglican Christianity which they regarded as the religion of their king. The position of Yoweri Buningwire as the senior *Munyankore* clergyman remained unassailable, as the missionaries relied on his advice concerning the local administrative matters of the church. This belonging of the Bairu and Bahima to the same church brought about a new type of social interaction between the two which had until then been unknown and also brought a change in attitude among some Bairu and Bahima. Nonetheless, a more fundamental change of attitudes and status in the church was a product of the post second world war period.

3.2 The Mission Schools

3.2.1 The Beginnings of the Mission Schools in Ankole

Mission schools in Ankole, as in the old CMS mission areas of Buganda and Toro, grew up from the humble beginnings of catechumen classes. Right from the start in Ankole, the mission clung to its policy of teaching reading to its converts and would be converts as one of the means of preparing them for baptism. The mission had championed this policy in Buganda, and had set up schools and committed itself to making the propagation of education an integral part of their evangelisation. This association of education and evangelisation committed the CMS to the founding of schools and to the giving of western education as "part of the broad task of evangelism".[39]

The situation in Buganda perhaps added impetus to this commitment for the *Baganda* were highly responsive to reading, and many of them were attracted by it to the Mission. On his arrival in Buganda in 1890, for example, Bishop Tucker noted:

> But besides this thirst for knowledge and instruction, the Baganda seemed to me to possess not only a peculiar aptitude for teaching, but a single desire to engage in it. No sooner was a reading sheet mastered than at once the learner became a teacher. It was the same with the gospels; every fact noted, every truth mastered, was at once repeated to groups of eager inquirers.[40]

Consequently the mission placed reading high on its agenda for evangelism to the extent that learning how to read was made one of the essentials for Christian baptism. Mastery of reading skills was required of catechumens before they were examined in the tenets of the faith and admitted into baptism. Only the blind, the infirm or elderly persons could be exempted.[41] The rule emerged in the mid 1890s, and remained in force until the 1950s.[42]

The first catechists in Ankole, Kamya and Bamulenzaki, adhered very closely to this ideal in their pioneer missionary work. Teaching reading to the people was part and parcel of their evangelistic activities at the capital. When Willis and Clayton arrived, they found that they had broken the ground in introducing reading to the people, who were then "struggling with the alphabet".[43] Although as Pirouet points out, Willis and Clayton "did not find that much progress had been made in the mechanics of reading",[44] there is no indication to suggest that this was due to lack of emphasis on the catechists' part. There were some people, such as the king, who had made progress in reading. For example on 10 January 1901, five days after his arrival, Clayton wrote that the King "has learnt his syllables and knows the creed by heart".[45]

Nevertheless, Willis and Clayton also found teaching reading at the capital hard going:

> The people are reading in great numbers but are somewhat slow in grasping the mysteries of syllables.[46]

To them, some of the people were "very dense" and it would "require a great deal of patience to teach".[47]

Despite that fact, they also remained committed to reading as one of the major aspects of their evangelistic strategy. They made reading a dominant feature of their catechumens' classes. This point comes out clearly from the missionaries' own descriptions of their daily engagements during the pioneering days. One of the accounts that Clayton wrote five days after his arrival is full of descriptions of the teaching of reading:

> At present I seem to be occupied daily as follows. We have breakfast at 7, at 8 we go to church and teach the people to read. After we have got tired of reading I teach them a hymn and read and explain some

> passage out of the gospels or a few answers out of the easy catechism, which we have... In the afternoon we go up to church again at 2 for more teaching, and after tea we probably visit or go for a walk.[48]

Willis and Clayton were determined to ensure that their catechumens mastered reading, and they devised various methods to achieve this:

> We have started a new system for trying to teach the people to read. They seem so far to have been learning syllables by heart rather than learning to recognise the letters. So we have written some large letters on sheets of paper, and hold them up and dodge them about, and then try to get them to recognise the same letters in their books.[49]

The missionaries appointed those who had learnt how to read without much difficulty as teachers of those who could not easily master the reading skills.[50]

In 1903 the missionaries added writing to the catechumens' curriculum. Writing was taught to those who had already mastered reading; it was largely boosted by the arrival of the European women missionaries, M.T. Baker and Annie Attlee, who thereafter mainly superintended it, and relieved Clayton of the task:

> The ladies now relieve me of the writing class. One of them takes the men and the other the women and between them they teach about 40.[51]

As has been shown, the missionaries in Ankole also implemented the mission's policy of administering baptism only to those adults who had learnt how to read. Only in special circumstances could they allow for exceptions:

> On Sunday I baptised a band of 8 old ladies, some of them with grey hair. They have not been able to read, but have been taught a great deal and seem really in earnest.[52]

Infants were obviously another exception, but when those who had been baptised as infants grew up and came to seek confirmation, they first had to undergo the baptism course in which they would also be taught reading. Not until they had mastered reading could they be admitted to the confirmation classes. For example, E.W. Brewer, one of the women missionaries who worked in Ankole, reported in her annual

letter of 1911:

> By the church rule all young people though baptised as infants have to learn to read and then to go through the full baptismal course before they are allowed to join a confirmation course.[53]

The missionaries' motivation for holding to this rule was that very little real Christian teaching was given to the children in their homes; many of the baptised children grew up quite as ignorant as the non-baptised children.[54]

This method of using literacy as an arm of evangelization soon drew the mission into organised education and the building of schools. By mid 1903, the mission had expanded its literacy programme to include arithmetic, Bible knowledge and English, and Clayton wrote:

> I am doing five hours teaching a day just now for four days a week, and am taking classes in St. Mark, Genesis, English and arithmetic. For arithmetic I have about 12 pupils. The most backward is just beginning addition, while the most forward can do long division of money.[55]

3.2.2 Categories of Mission Schools and their Role

The first organised mission schools to be started in Ankole were Literacy or Sub-standard Schools, followed by two boarding schools, one for boys and another for girls, and a number of lower primary schools, commonly known in the mission as Elementary Vernacular Schools. Throughout the missionary period and the church's active participation in education, it was these three types of institutions that provided western education in Ankole. It is important to consider each of these categories of schools separately in assessing the impact of mission schools on Bairu-Bahima relations because, in spite of many similarities each had a distinctive contribution to make. Literacy schools, for example, were dominant during the early stage of mission education when the egalitarian implications of literacy and attending school were not

generally apparent. These implications, however, became increasingly significant with the spread of the Elementary Vernacular Schools and the influx of the Bairu into Mbarara High School.

3.2.3 (a) The Literacy Schools

Although there is an obvious sense in which all mission schools were literacy schools, as providing literacy was one of the chief objects of all, Literacy Schools were an identifiable category of their own. Literacy Schools, true to their name, were schools for teaching reading and writing, Bible knowledge, and occasionally counting. All the pupils were taught at the same level, with the goal that they should leave school having attained the same standard, which was "being literate". Those students who wished to continue had to find another school.

The first literacy school in Ankole was opened at Mbarara in 1903. It started without school buildings, but with scholars, both adults and children as pupils. There were 197 boys and 122 girls, making a total of 319.[56] The adults by far out-numbered the children. There were 350 of them, 100 women and 250 men.[57] By October that year the first school building was ready for use, as Clayton reported on 7 October:

> This afternoon we moved into our new school, which is finished at last.[58]

It was purposely a school for all, adults and children, and for the first two days of each week, both adults and children studied together. On the third day of the week Attlee separated the children from the adults, though the two groups continued to follow the same syllabus. The school ran from 8.00 in the morning to 2.00 o'clock in the afternoon, using one side of the verandah of the new school building for the children,

and the other side for the adults.[59] The adult class was phased out at the end of the year when Attlee transferred her services to Toro; and that appears to have been the end of formal adult mission education in Ankole. Thereafter only adults who offered themselves for baptism and confirmation could receive formal instruction through catechism classes. However, the children's school continued under the care of Hilda Clayton, until two new European women missionaries, Miss Annie Henrietta Robinson and Miss Winifred Coombs, joined her in 1906. The new arrivals took over the care of the school, and began streaming the children into two separate classes of girls and boys. Coombs taught the boys in one school house, and Robinson taught the girls in the other.[60] The school carried on as such for the next two years, only to be undermined by the founding of the boarding schools, one for the boys in 1911, and the other for the girls in 1912.[61] The two boarding schools provided a higher standard of education than the literacy school. However, they never succeeded in completely starving the Literacy School of children because the Literacy School proved better at teaching reading and writing than they did. Thus in practice the Literacy School remained a feeder school to the boarding schools until, and even after, it was promoted to being an Elementary Vernacular School of Standard Four in 1928.[62]

From Mbarara, Literacy Schools spread to the countryside, following the pattern of the church out-stations. The first Literacy school to be established outside Mbarara was opened at Kyagaju, about twenty miles west of Mbarara, in 1913. It was started by Musa Rurebera, who was also the catechist in charge of the church there. It opened with twelve boys and two girls, three of the boys were Bahima and the rest of the pupils were Bairu.[63] Rakyeri Bwijwire (nee Miss Rwamuhare), one of the pioneers of the school, recalls that during her time at the school most pupils were

Bairu.[64] In 1918 another one was established at Ibanda, about forty miles north of Mbarara.

In 1920 Harold Brelsford Lewin, who was the missionary in charge of Ankole Deanery conducted a class of twenty three trainee teachers, who were intended to take charge of the Literacy Schools, and at the same time work as catechists in the churches where the schools were located, or to found churches where there were none. A Luganda word, 'basizi', rendered 'abashizi' in Runyankore, meaning 'sowers' was coined as their title. The name was a pointer to what their new role and work would involve.[65] Following the graduation of these teachers more Literary schools were established, and there was soon at least one at each of the out-station churches. "Some thirty sub-standards schools" were reported by Lewin to be in existence by 1924.[66] As widespread as the church stations, these schools were attended by both Bairu and Bahima. Lewin was a hard-working missionary and his efforts in supervising the work of these schools was nationally noted in 1925:

> In the Kingdom of Ankole, the educational headquarters of the Mission is naturally at the capital, Mbarara.... Probably the sub-standard schools in this area are more often visited by the missionary than in most areas in Uganda, because the missionary who happens to have been continuously stationed here for many years, is a man who likes to get out into his district, and makes time to do it, and they are gathered together by him twice a year for a fortnight's intensive instruction at Mbarara.[67]

Literacy Schools flourished up to the 1950s. Their popularity was enhanced by the fact that four of them in 1928 were promoted to elementary vernacular schools (lower primary), and began to receive government grants. These were Kabwohe, Bweranyangi, Ibanda, and Kyamate.[68] Henceforth, it became an established practice that Literacy Schools were the only avenue through which an area could have a primary school. It was after Uganda's independence most of them became government

aided and were made primary schools.

Literacy Schools did not in themselves effect much change in Bairu-Bahima relations but initiated processes which would eventually transform their relationship. Bahima and Bairu children were integrated; they assembled, prayed, played and learned together. All the pupils were required to do gardening every day in between the lessons. The mission had instituted this practice in Ankole in 1910, as a preventive measure against scarcity of food at the mission stations.[69] Every mission was expected to establish and keep a garden from which the teachers and the catechists would get their food. Gardening would also provide exercise for physical fitness. The missionaries had disliked the way of life of the Bahima women and girls, which allowed for little activity, and as a result encouraged them to grow fat and immobile. For example, Mrs. Hilda Clayton having initiated gardening at Mbarara Literacy school, reported:

> We have lately begun to collect the girls for cultivating every Monday during the rainy season. To Baganda girls this comes easily, but it is a different matter for the fat Bahima girls, who have been brought up to despise cultivation as the work of the Bairu or the peasant class only, and to think that to drink plenty of milk and grow fat are the main duties in life.... So now we have a goodly band of Bahima girls working away under the supervision of Zerida, the Muganda teacher. It is an amusing sight to see those enormous fat girls puffing and panting over the unaccustomed work, but it will, we hope, in time make them stronger and healthier than their mothers have been.[70]

By engaging Bahima pupils in gardening, the schools were making them do the Bairu's work, the very work that they had always despised. To engage the Bahima in gardening was something beyond the imagination of Ankole society before the coming of the missionaries. Understandably, the Bahima pupils did not like taking part in cultivation, nor did their parents. They did it out of simple obedience to the school regulations. Given the nature of mission schools and their emphasis on

discipline and conformity to school regulations, these pupils had little chance, if any, to opt out of it. However, as will be pointed out later, the Bahima were not on the whole attracted to mission education.[71]

Nonetheless, Literacy Schools did little that was consciously intended to stimulate their students to question the social inequalities between the two groups. The superior social status of the Bahima continued to be assumed, so did the inferior position of the Bairu. For example, until the 1940s, no Omwiru would dare challenge the long-standing traditions that embodied the Bahima superiority over the Bairu: actions as simple as Omwiru extending a hand and initiating a greeting between himself and Omuhima.[72] In some of the school activities such as reading some Bairu did better than some of the Bahima, but this did little to change the Bahima's attitude towards them, because the ethnic superiority of the Bahima was not built on excellence of performance, but was enshrined in their mythology and traditions.

Nonetheless, Bairu leavers from the Literacy Schools entered salaried employment. Being able to read and write enabled them to find employment with the mission as teachers and catechists, or with the government as clerks at the county and sub-county levels; and this gave them the opportunity to earn.[73] Meagre as the earnings were, money was still scarce, and this enabled them to buy clothing, build square houses, and stock them with some manufactured furniture - beds, tables and chairs.[74] As a result, the non-literate people began characterising them as *abajungu* (Europeans).

Some of these apparently successful Bairu wanted to cease being regarded as Bairu, and to be considered Bahima. For example, in 1939 the *ow'omuruka* (parish chief) of Kibatsi in Kajara fought an *Omuhima* sub-county chief because he had called him *omwiru*, and yet that was what the parish chief in fact was.[75] In practice the

initial reaction of most of the first Bairu graduates from the mission schools were to behave as if they were Bahima. They thought that the new social status which they had acquired meant that they would not be classified among their inferior regarded ethnic group. These Bairu, although they did not intend it, severed their relationship with the rest of the Bairu. They became deluded with the idea that the less 'Bairu' they were, and the more Bahima like they appeared, the more respectable they became. Some oral informants testify that such Bairu went to the extent of trying to denounce their Bairu origin as they endeavoured to acquire *Kihima* habits and customs. They, for instance, tried to copy the Kihima manner of speech and married Bahima women, particularly from the poor Bahima families. They organised their families and general way of life on Kihima lines. They acquired cattle and took to cattle culture, introducing milk-pot platforms in their houses. Their diet changed from vegetables to milk and blood. They also took over Bahima petty habits like having one's finger nails sharpened, wrapping one's loins, and wearing hats. They were very much at home in the company of Bahima, and it was difficult to persuade them that they were not Bahima. It is said that some of these Bairu left their clan lands and migrated to the Bahima dominated areas of Kashari and Nyabushozi. These Bairu can also be compared with Ayandele's 'deluded hybrid' group of the Nigerian educated elite.[76]

Socially, such Bairu found themselves in an isolated position; they had severed their relationship with the rest of the Bairu community but had not been able to anchor themselves within Bahima community. They did not want to be considered as Bairu, yet neither could they find a firm footing in the new Kihima way of life. There they were, having lost membership in their families and close contact with their relatives, and not readily accommodated in Kihima culture. Not only was their position

abhorrent to the other Bairu but it also made them long for their families and friends. Most of my informants from Sheema cited Kagooha from Kiziba in Sheema, as a typical example of this group. He arranged a giving away feast and ceremony for his daughter in 1939 and invited his new Bahima friends and his fellow Bairu relatives and former friends but hardly any from either side turned up.[77] Other examples were cited from other parts of Ankole: Rubizira of Bugamba Rwampara, and Kasene of Rwanyamahembe Kashari.[78]

Why did these Bairu react in this way? As has been shown in Chapter One, traditionally the Bahima were regarded superior to the Bairu. In addition, the early missionary orthography of the *Runyankore* language conformed to the traditional interpretation and made the semantic meaning of the word *abairu* the same as that of *abahuku* (servants); whereas the two words were not actually synonyms.[79] Such a usage had in effect given the title 'Bairu' a slightly insulting meaning. As a result, many of the first Bairu recipients of mission education felt that the term was incompatible with their new status, and hence sought a new identity among the Bahima.

As will be discussed in the next section, the other categories of Mission schools, that is the Elementary Vernacular Schools and the High School continued to reinforce the processes which were working for change in ethnic attitudes and relations. These two categories of schools had more time to influence the pupils than the two or three year period of schooling within the Literacy Schools.

3.2.3 (b) Elementary Vernacular Schools

Elementary Vernacular schools in Ankole were started by the Rev. Lewin (Rural Dean

of Ankole, 1915-1928) in 1928.[80] These schools gave a higher and more formal western education than the Literacy Schools. In addition to reading, writing, religious education and arithmetic, they also taught history, geography, nature-study and music (singing). However, like the Literacy schools, they taught in the vernacular, hence the name 'Elementary Vernacular schools'.

Lewin established the first Elementary Vernacular Schools by promoting six of the Literacy Schools. These were at Kabwohe, Bweranyangi and Ruyonza, Ibanda, Kinoni and Ntungamo,[81] Lewin was implementing the policy shared by the CMS Uganda mission and that of the British administration in Uganda, of strengthening the educational base of the country. The policy had been formulated in 1925 in the wake of the Phelps Stokes Commission recommendations. When the Commission visited Uganda in 1924, it observed that education was entirely in the hands of the Christian missions, and despite all that these missions had achieved in education, the standard of the basic educational institutions, the village schools, was very low, so much so that they were as "little nothings" in the care of "blind leaders of the blind". The Commission recommended that an effort should be made to improve standards in these schools, and that there should be increased government participation in education. Consequently both the Christian missions and the British government increased their efforts in educational development. For its part, the CMS mission introduced the office of regional educational supervisors; in Ankole Erica Sabiti was appointed to that office. Their responsibility was to appoint and to discipline the local teachers, and to recommend which school was worthy to receive the mission's and government's grants.[82] On its side, the government established a department of education, and appointed E.R.J. Hussey to be the director of education, and the head of the education

department.[83] It also increased its grants to the Christian missions for their educational programmes. For example, in 1926 the CMS mission received a government grant of £10,250 for its schools.[84] Furthermore, to improve the standard of the village schools, the director of education invested resources in the teachers' colleges for training more elementary vernacular teachers to teach in the village schools. Commenting on this policy, the principal of Mukono Teachers' College, which was one of the colleges to train these teachers, wrote in 1926:

> The idea in the director of education's mind seems to be the formation of small well organised schools in the villages of Uganda, schools in which the majority of the pupils are peasant children and who themselves become peasant farmers.[85]

Lewin found this programme directly relevant to the situation in Ankole, where the majority of the population were the Bairu, many of whom had children whose western education did not go beyond the standard of the Literary School. As has already been shown, the avenues for higher education for the Bairu children were very limited. The technical school at Birere which had been set up for them had failed; and only very few of them could at this time join Mbarara High School. Yet by the 1920s the Bairu had started to flock to the mission in such large numbers that the mission was "overwhelmed by the crowds of men and women seeking to be instructed in the Christian faith".[86] So in the mostly predominantly Bairu settled areas Lewin set up the six Elementary Vernacular Schools to provide the Bairu with more opportunities for higher education.[87] The Elementary Vernacular Schools became instrumental in changing the face of Bairu-Bahima relations. They enabled the Bairu also to have an access to schools, at least in the primary section. The level of fees charged in the Elementary schools was reasonable enough for most of the Bairu to afford. For example, Elementary Vernacular Schools charged one shilling a year in 1936,[88]

whereas the boarding schools charged 100 shillings a year, which was increased to 120 shillings in 1941.[89]

There was a high response from the Bairu to the Elementary Vernacular Schools. The Bairu saw education as the way out of their down trodden situation, a factor that did not escape the notice of all the missionaries that served in Ankole. For example, A.C. Pain observed:

> The Bairu - the very word means 'slaves' or 'servants' - were cultivators and saw that their only way to success lay in education.[90]

The teachers in these Elementary schools also helped to attract Bairu children to the schools. They organised the older children in the school, and formed a band that went to the villages, smartly dressed in their school uniforms, singing songs that were composed to emphasize the future benefits which would come to all who attend school. Accompanied by drums and rattles, these songs urged parents to send their children to school and exhibited the advantage of doing so to both the children and the parents.

Each school set aside one afternoon every week for such campaigns. Below are the first verses of two of the best remembered songs that were used:

Hariho omuhigo,
Omuhigo gw'eringyenda
Ogushongora ekaraamu tugurwanise:
Kishumurizo ky'amagyezi
Nigo mashomero
Mwije tushome.

The literal meaning of this verse is:

There is a call to go hunting
This is modern hunting
It requires the pencil, let us be vigilant at it;
The key for knowledge
Are the schools
Come, let us learn.

Ekigambo kushoma

nikirungi munonga
mikishemeza abaana omumagara gaabo;
Imwe agataregire mmukaferwa baingi
kutiruba twizire turyabategyeka.

The literal meaning of this verse is:

To learn
Is a very good thing
it pleases the life of the children;
To you who did not learn, you have missed so much
we, who have learned, will be your leaders.[91]

Although these activities took place in the villages near the schools without discriminating between the Bairu and Bahima, they benefited the former more than the latter. As has already been pointed out, most of the Elementary Vernacular Schools had been set up in predominantly Bairu areas; the Bahima, most of whom lived a nomadic pastoral life, could hardly benefit from them. Besides, as will be discussed in the next section, most of the Bahima had little use for Western education throughout the colonial period in Ankole, and were unlikely to be attracted by the campaigns anyway.[92] Furthermore, judging from the imagery used in the songs designed to attract children to the schools, it is clear that these campaigns were directed mainly at the Bairu. For example, in the first verse quoted, going to school was compared with going hunting. Such imagery would have meant far more to the Bairu, who through hunting acquired most of their meat supplies, than to the Bahima whose meat was supplied by their herds of cattle.[93]

The material benefit that had accrued to the first Bairu who had graduated from the Literacy schools, and become either teachers or clerks, was an incentive for many Bairu to seek western mission education. In fact, a general feeling developed that a bright future for children lay in attending school.[94]

Consequently, many parents started building Elementary Vernacular Schools

and calling on the Native Anglican Church (NAC) to recognise their schools, to help them with staffing and to supply other financial assistance. The education files of the Schools' Supervisor for the NAC, Ankole, from 1928 to 1963 (the year which marks the end of active church control of education in Uganda), contain a large number of applications of this kind, many of which were favourably received. In 1948 the Elementary Vernacular Schools were promoted to full primary status, and started teaching English in standards five and six. By 1963 the Schools' Supervisor for Church of Uganda schools in Ankole had eighty-six primary schools on his roll.[95]

The boys and girls who left these schools either went to the high schools for further education or started work immediately. The girls mainly went in for teaching and secretarial jobs, while others married straightaway and became housewives. For example, of the nine girls who left standard four at Kabwohe Girls' primary school in 1947, four joined the teaching profession, three took up secretarial office work, and two became housewives.[96] The boys who left primary schools also became teachers, clerks, catechists and chiefs, or retail village shop traders.[97] Similarly, some of the boys went to high school for further education; and, as will be discussed in the next section, elementary schools were one of the avenues by which Bairu boys found their way into Mbarara High School. In short, primary schools broadened the intake of mission schools to include the Bairu, equipped a good many of them for the civil service, and made available to exceptionally gifted pupils bursaries and grants for higher education.

3.2.3 (c) The Boarding Schools

Boarding schools were an important part of the CMS educational strategy. The

missionaries were convinced of their strength that, unlike the day schools, they put the children completely into the hands of the missions, weaning them from the non-Christian world, which, according to the missionaries was pagan, and therefore non-conducive to Christian growth. With such a conviction, Alfreda Allen, the first headmistress of the first boarding school for girls in Uganda, wrote in 1910:

> For the good of the girls we want to keep them here until they are married. This is the only place in the country where they are away from great temptation, the native rule is very lax, and so of course they fall into great sin.[98]

The first and only CMS boarding schools in Ankole were Mbarara High School, for boys, and Mbarara Boarding School, for girls.

3.2.4 (a) Mbarara High School

Work began on the buildings of Mbarara High School in 1909 but the school did not open until January 1911. It had twenty four boys on its roll, and by the end of the year this number had increased to forty-eight. Mbarara High School was the first school in Ankole to offer the highest level of formal mission education, and indeed formal western education; and it enjoyed this monopoly until 1959, when the British administration opened Ntare Secondary School, and granted it an 'A' level section.

However, its role in influencing Ankole's ethnic stratification between the Bairu and the Bahima was gradual. For a considerable time, up to the 1930's, the school stood largely to serve the interests of the Bahima. It started on the same lines as the special schools of Buganda[99] that is Mengo, opened in 1905[100] and Budo in 1906.[101] The purpose of these special schools was to educate the sons of the chiefs and the influential families in Buganda.

Targeted at the higher echelons of Ugandan society, these schools were to

educate and influence the future generation of leaders with Christian ideals. In turn, these leaders were expected to influence their society with the same Christian ideals for the good of the church, a hope that was expressed in 1906 by one of the CMS missionaries from Buganda in a comment about the role of Budo and Mengo schools:

> In both the two latter schools there are 'bounds' and the discipline is fairly strict and the hope is entertained that under good Christian influence these, the young nobility of the country, may learn the very needful lessons of self-denial, self-control, and self-discipline which will be of inestimable value to their future positions of wide spreading influence.[102]

Boarding schools were therefore expected to help the missionary church keep its influence over the Ugandan leaders, and therefore maintain its strategy of evangelising, as Bishop Willis described it, "from the top downwards". Through these schools, the CMS mission hoped to continue to nurture the successors for the converted Christian chiefs who had enormously contributed to its early success, as Bishop Willis testified:

> Certainly, the Church of Uganda would not be what it is today were it not for the influence of the Christian chiefs.[103]

In fact, Bishop Willis went further and outlined the anticipated role of the Christian educated chiefs. He wrote:

> The chiefs touch the political side of the tribal life. Christian chiefs secure a Christian legislature, and the ultimate settlement of all questions on Christian principles. And even though many years may pass before practice corresponds to enactment, it means much that an ideal should have been accepted, and that ideal embodied in formal legislation.[104]

Mbarara High school, therefore, having been founded on the same lines as these schools, was aimed at educating the sons of the Bahima chiefs, whom the missionaries recognised as the leaders of Ankole. For instance Clayton wrote in 1911, giving the background for the school:

> When Archdeacon Walker paid us a visit here at the end of 1909, the

> king and chiefs decided to build a boarding school for their boys, and we hoped to have it finished in six months. But the work went on slowly; and it was in January of this year that the boarding school was finished.[105]

Efforts were made to make the school serve its intended purpose, and some of these produced features that alienated the Bairu from the school. The missionaries chose as the badge for the school the symbol of a cow:

> For a school badge we have chosen an Ankole bull's head. As Ankole is famous for its long horned cattle, we decided that this would be an appropriate badge for us.[106]

As as has been shown in Chapter One, to the Banyankore cows were a distinctive feature that signified the life and work of the Bahima. Although the missionaries did not say that this was the reason that made them choose the bull symbol (it could be simply because they were attracted by the Ankole cattle with their spectacular long horns) such a consideration cannot be ruled out. It seems likely that they deliberately chose to identify the school by a symbol that was inseparable from the livelihood of the Bahima, so that the Bahima would be attracted to the school. In support of this suggestion it should be noted firstly, that the missionaries knew that the sons of chiefs for whom the school was intended were, as a matter of fact, sons of the Bahima who were in power. Secondly, they had already noted the importance that the Bahima attached to their cattle. For example, John Roscoe had learnt as early as 1904 that:

> When a cow died, the owner mourned five days for it and refrained from sexual intercourse with his wife.[107]

Nonetheless, the bull symbol as the badge for the school was not as appropriate as the missionaries thought if the school was also to educate as potential leaders the Bairu, who formed the greater part of the population. To them as agriculturalists a cow could not be directly relevant.

Until the 1940s the school was predominantly occupied by the sons of the Bahima. Of the forty-eight boys that entered the school when it opened in 1911, the majority were, as Clayton pointed out, the sons of chiefs:

> The boys are mostly sons of chiefs, who pay fees which cover the expenses of the school. Some of the boys were Christians when they came and others came straight from heathen homes in the country. As many of these boys will probably be chiefs of the next generation, it is a great thing to have them under our care for a few years.

Although Clayton does not comment on the ethnic composition of the boys, it is safe to assume, judging from the ethnic composition of the chiefs, that the majority of the boys in the school were Bahima, and the rest were sons of the Baganda immigrants. As has been shown, when the British administrators and missionaries came to Ankole, they found the leadership of Ankole in the hands of the Bahima and they confirmed it. The British also imported into Ankole a few Baganda to assist them in the 'pacification' of Ankole. They considered the Baganda to be better than the Bahima in organising both civil and ecclesiastical matters and made them chiefs, but at a lower level than the Bahima chiefs. According to the report of the Collector of Ankole of 1907, there were ten county chiefs, of whom seven were Bahima, and three were Baganda, there was no Omwiru. Thus until the 1940s, the majority of the chiefs in Ankole were Bahima, and a few Baganda, who occupied the lower ranks of the chieftains.

In fact, the missionary reports of the 1920s show clearly that the ethnic composition of the school during that period was largely Bahima. Frank Sydney Rogers, who was the headmaster of the school from 1923 to 1926, reported in 1925:

> Most of the hundred and so boys in the school are sons of Bahima, the ruling tribe in the country, and are under twelve years of age.
>
> The first admission of the Bairu to the school came as a result of opening a

technical school as part of Mbarara High School in 1923.[108] This technical school had been opened by Lewin at Birere, about six miles east of Mbarara, in April 1915, under the care of Firipo Bamulenzaki, who was one of the first two pioneer Baganda teachers of the mission in Ankole in 1899.[109] It was to teach carpentry and brick-laying. The school could feed itself by students cultivating their own food, and would subsidize its maintenance through selling part of the students agricultural produce and artefacts made in the carpentry workshop. It was to be an alternative for those pupils, particularly the Bairu, who could not afford the fees to study at Mbarara High School. Lewin's strategy was that the technical school would turn out skilled artisans, and Mbarara High School produce the administrators for the mission and for the civil administration. Unwittingly, however, by setting up the two institutions the missionaries were reinforcing the traditional roles with their assumption that the Bahima should be administrators and the Bairu the artisans.

However, the Technical School failed to take off and collapsed within the first year of its existence.[110] It lacked financial support. The mission was already committed to the policy of local self support, and it was up to the individual institution to pay for its maintenance and the salaries for its staff. The mission would pay only the salaries of European staff. The first problem was that the students' fees had been set very low in order to be within the paying capacity of the economically less able students for whom the school had been designed; as a result the school could not be supported from these fees.[111] Secondly, the school could not attract the sympathies of the Bahima chiefs, who were the chief financiers of the church and its institutions at the time. Its atmosphere appeared hostile to the Bahima. Its emphasis on manual skills was alien to their cultural upbringing. In addition, the necessity of making

students in term time produce the food that they were to live on, which meant some gardening every day, removed it even further from being worthy of the Bahima's attention.[112]

The transfer of the Technical School to Mbarara High school was an attempt to alleviate the financial problem. As part of the Mbarara High School, the technical section's financial needs could be covered in the budget of the whole school.[113] However, the Bahima, nursing the traditional occupational biases, were not willing to offer themselves for carpentry and building courses. It is, for example, reported that, for the whole of 1924, only two students (both of them *Baganda*) were attending the carpentry course; and no one had opted for the building course.[114] This was a blessing in disguise for the Bairu. Realising the difficulty of finding students for the technical classes, Rogers, the headmaster of the school, appealed to Mbaguta, the *Enganzi*, to send some students for these. In response to this appeal, Mbaguta sent two Bairu students, Karukiko and Rwanga, to the school because, as will be discussed below, Mbaguta's view of the Bairu was different from that of most Bahima. Indeed, he had very little choice since he could not get hold of any Bahima boys who were willing to offer themselves for the course. Karukiko and Rwanga were the first Bairu to study at the High School.[115]

Despite this 'back door' entry of the Bairu to Mbarara High School, the school remained slanted towards the Bahima, presenting itself as a Bahima institution. The fees were high, and from the start it was clear that it would take only those who could pay. The annual tuition fee of the school, when it started in 1911, was fifty rupees, which was equivalent to a little more than three British pounds.[116] In 1942 it was 120 shillings. Only the wealthy Bahima, with many heads of cattle, could afford to

send their sons to the school; the agricultural Bairu could not. This remained the case until the increase of cash crop production in the 1940s. A.C. Pain, a former headmaster of Mbarara High School (1942-54), described the situation at the time he arrived at the school in 1942:

> Thus, at the bottom of the primary school, classes were very small, about ten boys, and consisted mainly of Bahima, since very few others could afford the fees.[117]

The economic factor was, therefore, an important determinant in the creation of social equality between the Bairu and the Bahima. Initially, the economic differential between the Bahima and the Bairu was because the introduction of the cash economy in Ankole by the British administration at the beginning of the century at first favoured the Bahima, and held the Bairu at a disadvantage. For the first quarter of the century the main articles of trade in Ankole were cattle and dairy products of hides and ghee, products that were exclusively in the possession of the Bahima.[118] This provided the Bahima with a ready means of income.

The Bairu had little to offer in way of commodities to trade, and were therefore left with hardly any source of hard cash. Their traditional subsistence crops of millet, sorghum, beans, peas and potatoes were not in demand in the colonial economy. Little progress was made in stimulating the growing of crops that were wanted in the new economy in Ankole, that is, wheat, cotton, coffee, tea and groundnuts. Of these crops, wheat and cotton were the first to be introduced in 1908, but local conditions were soon deemed unfavourable for their growth.[119] Coffee, tea and groundnuts, which did give favourable results, took a long time to be established as a reliable means of income for the Bairu. Coffee, for instance, which led the way in boosting the Bairu's income, was introduced in Ankole in the 1920s, but only began to be

profitable from the 1940s onwards.[120]

How can this delay in the development of the cash economy in Ankole be explained? In the main, it was the government, both colonial and local, which was responsible. Ankole, being a long way from Kampala and Entebbe, the most important commercial and communication centres was neglected in terms of communication. It was not until 1931-2, that Ankole's capital town, Mbarara, was linked to Entebbe, by road as far as Port Bukakata on Lake Victoria and by steamer for the rest of the journey.[121] In principle, the Uganda Protectorate communication system was economically motivated. For instance, after the First World War there was pressure to link up the main administrative centres in the Protectorate but the Governor resisted the idea due to economic considerations:

> I consider the idea of linking up the principal centres of the Protectorate as fundamentally a wrong idea. What we should aim at is getting merchandise moved at the lowest cost per ton mile and that the building of all Railways, Waterways, and Roads, should be with this end view. The economic interests of the Protectorate must not be subordinated to the administrative convenience.[122]

According to the administration, Ankole did not have much to offer to attract the communication system. Losses in livestock through rinderpest in 1919 had reduced the trade in cattle and hides, which constituted its major export.[123] In 1924 Ankole was described as economically "doomed for the present, to remain backwaters" (*sic*) and its economic activity was succinctly summarised:

> At the present it affords about the finest lion shooting in all Africa, which is a commentary on its present condition.[124]

In the circumstances, the government established the growth of the cash crops, particularly coffee and cotton, which it badly needed, in Buganda and Busoga, around Kampala. It then did its best to encourage migrant labour to journey to Buganda and

Busoga from the outlying districts of the country, Ankole being one of them. These districts were not only robbed of their labour force but also of their agricultural development. The administration tried to hold back any stimulation of cash crop production in them so as to ensure an increased flow of migrant labour. For example, in 1925 one of the Agricultural Officers was ordered to stop promoting cotton production in West Nile, and was informed:

> The policy of this government is at present to refrain from actively stimulating the production of cotton or other economic crops in outlying districts on which it is dependent for a supply of labour for carrying out essential services in the central or producing districts.[125]

The Labour Department initiated a recruitment scheme for labourers in January 1925.[126] The scheme was an affirmation of what had already been taking place for a number of years. Missionary records show that by 1923 all able bodied men from Ankole had already begun migrating to Buganda in search of employed work:

> The whole population of able bodied men now spend more than half of the year a way from their homes working on the tillage of the soil or carrying cotton to the ginner; while thousands of Banyarwanda from Belgian-Ruanda pass through Ankole seeking work from the same source.[127]

Labour migration caused a lot of physical hardship and emotional trauma to the Banyankore. The journey to Buganda of about 250 miles each way was made on foot until the introduction of motor transport in the 1950s; and even then, not many labourers could afford the fares. Recounting their experiences, those who took part in this migration told me that until the 1950s there was hardly any human habitation between Sanga village (15 miles from Mbarara) and Buddu in Buganda, and that the area was infested with wild animals including the fierce lions, buffaloes and leopards. For this part of the journey, they used to carry all their food and water provisions with them, and they walked all day and most of the night.[128] In 1940 an experimental

camp was built at Mbarara to provide a resting place for the exhausted migrants in transit.[129] Without repeating Stenning's exaggeration in 1958 that labour migration was the major export from Ankole, it is fair to say that the practice remained an element in the Kingdom's economy throughout the colonial period.[130]

On the positive side, labour migration gradually helped to increase crop production, particularly of coffee, in Ankole. Having been to Buganda, and participated in the growing of coffee there, some Bairu had learnt how the crops were grown and catered for. They also realised how lucrative the growing of the crop was to the Baganda, and on returning home, were determined to plant some coffee trees for themselves.[131]

Besides a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the British administration, another obstacle to cash crop production was that a good number of Bahima chiefs took little interest in crop production. In fact, some Bahima chiefs, realising that the introduction and success of the cash crops would boost the Bairu's means of income and impinge on the communal grazing of their herds, progressively worked to hamper it. Testimony from some of the *Banyankore* elders such as D. Rwamuhare and E. Iringaniza, for example, that cotton was considered unfavourable for growing in Ankole partly because of these chiefs' resistance. When some Bahima chiefs in the north of Ankole were given cotton seeds to pass on to the growers, they first roasted them before the distribution; as a result the cotton seeds could not germinate.[132] The point is also made that many Bahima chiefs did little to motivate their subjects towards a cash-crop economy, not only by failing to encourage them to grow the crops, but also by omitting to mobilise them to fight, hunt and get rid of crop-destroying animals, particularly pigs, buffaloes and antelopes, which inhabited most areas of Ankole.[133]

3.2.4 (b) The Bairu at Mbarara High School

Gradually, however, the Bairu increased their numbers at Mbarara High School; by 1942 they had caught up in numbers with the Bahima in the upper classes of the school, as A.C. Pain reported:

> In Primary V and V1 some Bairu boys joined the school and again more in secondary 1, often helped by scholarships and bursaries. Nevertheless, in 1941, the top class, Secondary 111 had only 10 boys, of whom 3 or 4 came from outside Ankole and the others were about equally divided between Bairu and Bahima.[134]

The scholarships were mainly offered by the NAC Ankole District council and the District Commissioner's office to the children who excelled in the two examinations set at the district level. The first district examination was set at the end of standard four, which graduated the pupils from the lower primary to the upper primary. The second one came after primary six, which marked the end of the primary section and ushered the students into the secondary section.[135]

The bursaries were offered particularly to those children who caught the eyes of the headmaster or the teaching staff as utterly helpless. In most cases these were the same children whom the staff considered to have benefited the school during their stay there. Such children need not have been particularly good at examinations, but they were well behaved, which meant being obedient, smart, clean and tidy, or good at games and sports.

Another category of children who received bursaries were the children of full-time church workers. In 1938, the Ankole Deanery Council resolved to give free education to the children of its workers: pastors, teachers, and catechists. Because of the poor pay, these employees of the church were increasingly failing to pay fees for their children to go to school. Some of the mission teachers had started deserting

their work and seeking employment with other employers, who also needed their services. The Rural Dean of Ankole, A.E. Clarke, for example, deplored this development:

> Accordingly it is becoming extraordinarily difficult to hold our teachers and school masters, for there are many competing with us for their services, who can afford to pay higher wages on account of not having been burdened with the expense of their training.[136]

> Most of the able school leavers were no longer willing to offer themselves for teaching or full-time church work. This failure to attract the cream of their schools' products was a common experience and concern in the whole CMS Uganda mission, as Bishop Willis had expressed in 1921:

> > We have trained, in our Central and High Schools, many hundreds of native boys. They are to be found in all the higher posts of responsibility throughout the Protectorate. But, with a very few exceptions, we have drawn our evangelists and our clergy from another source, whose education has been confined to a Village Day School, and Normal and Theological Classes. The growing class of educated natives necessitates a far more highly educated ministry than we have at present.[137]

Hence, to check the exodus of the teachers from the mission schools, and to motivate those yet to engage in full-time mission work, the Ankole Deanery Council instituted this policy of free education. The policy benefited the Bairu more than the Bahima, because from the 1920s full-time church work and teaching had become the monopoly of the Bairu and had less attraction for the Bahima school leavers. The latter preferred to become chiefs, which was, of course, far more lucrative and honourable than being a church worker. In fact, in the whole period of our study, only two Bahima joined the ordained ministry of the Anglican Church. These were Yoweri Buningwire and Erica Sabiti, later to become the first Ugandan Archbishop of the Church of Uganda. They, in fact, worked full time for the church against the wish

of their clansmen.

Pirouet's list for 1978 records three Bahima Anglican clergy in Ankole: Buningwire, Shalita, and Ruhindi. It does not, however, mention Sabiti; whilst Shalita and Ruhindi have never been Bahima, but are only married to Bahima women.[138]

In the pioneer period, the Bairu received considerable financial support from Nuwa Mbaguta, who paid school fees for them at Mbarara High School, and at other schools. Mbaguta was a very enthusiastic supporter of the CMS mission and its institutions in Ankole, and the mission's records are full of praise of him. For example, in his report for the CMS mission Diamond Jubilee in Uganda, the Rural Dean of Ankole paid tribute to Mbaguta for his support:

> As we look back on the last fifty years we see how in Uganda, in each Kingdom, God has called out a leading man for the furtherance of His Kingdom. In Ankole it has been Noah Mbaguta, the Prime Minister, a wonderful personality, a strong ruler, a generous giver, an ambitious man, loving power, ... Becoming a Christian, at middle age, he both by his great influence and liberal gifts does all he can to forward our work here. Indeed apart from him, in the early days of the Mission, humanly speaking, little progress would have been made.[139]

Mbaguta made an annual contribution of thirty heads of cattle, and sometimes more, to Mbarara High School's annual budget.[140] In turn, the school reserved for him ten vacancies every year. Even when some of Mbaguta's nominated children dropped out of the school, the school gave Mbaguta the opportunity to nominate the replacement, so that he maintained his reservation of ten vacancies[141] Mbaguta usually granted some of the reserved places to the bright Bairu children from the central schools, and to other Bairu children who, in the process of serving in his palace, impressed him with their excellent performance.[142]

But why did Mbaguta, an *Omuhima*, financially support Bairu children? It is

apparent that Mbaguta, unlike most of the other "chiefly complacent pastoralists"[143] maintained a cordial relationship with the Bairu. He did not shun them or discriminate against them. He was open minded and innovative; virtues which he cultivated from the early years of his public life. For example, when Bishop Tucker visited Ankole for the first time in 1899, he could not miss recognising that Mbaguta was "a 'Progressive' and his house and its surroundings were after the Uganda pattern", far better than the king's residence which was "simply a huge cattle kraal, with filth within and without".[144]

Mbaguta's major asset in building up such a character was his early experiences with the Baganda. Being the Ankole chief in charge of Kabula, where the Baganda Christian exiles fled in 1888, Mbaguta of necessity interacted with these exiles. This interaction had a great impact on his character. It lifted his *Kihima* parochialism. His attitudes to non-Bahima, and to strangers changed. For example, he enlisted some of the exiles into the administration of his chieftainship. He learnt the exiles' language, Luganda, their Kiganda way of life, which "made him a thorough going Ganda-phile".[145]

Mbaguta's background was also a significant factor in the formation of his attitudes to the Bairu and the Baganda. He was a Muhima, but not of the *Bahinda* clan, which was the official ruling clan in Ankole. Instead, he belonged to the *Bashambo* clan, which was the ruling clan in the neighbouring Kingdom of Mpororo, situated in the north of Ankole.[146] Being an outsider to the traditional establishment of Ankole, Mbaguta was not in the good books of his colleagues, the Bahinda chiefs. In fact, Doornbos talks of the '*Bahinda-Bashambo* Strife' and rivalry.[147] It is likely that his differences from, and conflicts with, the Bahinda chiefs, influenced his

working relationships with the Bairu, and also with foreigners to Ankole, the *Baganda*, the European missionaries and the British administrators. Doornbos argued that such was certainly the case with regard to relations with the British administration, as he concluded:

> Basically, therefore, the Bahinda-Bashambo strife could be regarded as one which accelerated processes of colonial transformation.[148]

Additionally, Mbaguta's Mpororo origin could have given him a good start in relating to the Bairu. The ethnic division between the Bahororo (pastoralists) and the Bakiga (agriculturalists) was not as rigid as that between the Bahima and the Bairu in Ankole.[149]

Another factor that contributed to the increasing number of Bairu at Mbarara High School, was the introduction of the cash crop economy in Ankole. Although the British were not at first keen on establishing cash crops in Ankole, by the end of the 1930s they had recognised that peasant cash crop production was more economical than labour migation which they had hitherto supported. They found that peasant based Uganda crop production was buoyant during the world economic depression of the 1930s, and observed that the production of cotton and coffee increased, rather than decreasing, as was the case in the plantation-agriculture areas.[150] From the 1940s onwards, therefore, the growing of coffee, tea and ground nuts was encouraged in Ankole. In 1949 Ankole appeared in the Protectorate's report as having an increase in acreage cultivated for ground nuts and onions.[151] In fact, it was reckoned that in that very year some growers made as much as £140 from one season's crop.[152] Most of the Bairu started cultivating these crops, and eventually began to earn money from them to pay for their children's schooling.[153]

Once most of the Bairu began to have a more or less certain source of annual

income, some of them started to pull together in the payment of school dues. At the local level, the community spirit showed itself in raising money for the fees of a brilliant child, whose parents could not afford paying them. Usually, most members of a village would contribute voluntarily what they felt they could afford; and a further appeal would be made in the churches in the locality where the child lived, until the amount required for fees was realised. According to Bishop Shalita, the first bishop of Ankole, this was a common method through which most children were maintained at Mbarara High School.[154]

The Bahima's indifference to mission education was a blessing in disguise for the Bairu since it led to an increase in their numbers at Mbarara High School. This may seem a contradiction of what has already been said regarding the Bahima domination of that school. It must be remembered that, although the Anglican mission at first converted the leaders, the majority of Bahima society remained pastoral and unconcerned with alien influences, such as Christianity and western education. This, as has been discussed, is the reason that missionary records in Ankole are full of laments that the majority of Bahima were not keen to convert to Christianity.

Neither were most Bahima willing to send their children to the mission schools. In 1915 M.T. Baker, was prompted to write to the Missionary Committee in Uganda suggesting that it was useless to continue the boarding school at Mbarara, as very few students came to it. H.B. Lewin, on the other hand, requested that the school should be kept.[155] Another CMS missionary, Rev. Garfield Williams, reporting on CMS education in Uganda in 1924, described Mbarara High School as having "fallen on evil days" due to insufficient numbers of pupils.[156] Miss Violet Hogbin who was the missionary headmistress of the Boarding School for Girls at Mbarara, also reported

in 1929 that it was difficult to obtain pupils for the school.[157] A.C. Pain also made a similar observation as late as 1942, commenting:

> The Bahima were the nomadic pastoralists and overlords who tended their cattle and had little use for western education.[158]

The explanation that the missionaries gave for this indifference of the Bahima to missionary and western education, was that the Bahima were very contented with their pastoral way of life, and did not like anything, be it Christianity or formal education, that would divert them from that.[159] There could also be other factors that distanced the Bahima from mission schools. As the group that provided the leadership, it is possible that the importance of formal education was not readily apparent to many of them.

Similarly, as C. Murray has pointed out, the Bairu's newly acquired wealth from cash crops was more easily transferable into school fees than cattle wealth. Cattle were a guaranteed source of wealth, whereas wealth derived from coffee was a variable cash income.[160] Mission schools appeared to be a threat to the Bahima's wealth because only through the selling of cattle could the Bahima obtain the money for paying school fees. Yet cattle were not only a sign of wealth, but also a source of food. (Although the Bahima were not quick to slaughter cattle for meat, rather they lived on milk, butter and *enjuba* (processed blood.) Thus the Bahima have always aimed at increasing their herds of cattle and have persistently resisted offers to sell or kill their cattle.[161]

However, Mbaguta, as it has already been noted, was a strong supporter of formal education. Mbarara High School in particular "held a unique place in his interest".[162] So he pressurized the Bahima chiefs and pastoralists to send their children to Mbarara High School, and to other mission schools. To those who failed

to send the children, Mbaguta sent his guards to enforce his order. To evade Mbaguta's anger some of the Bahima chiefs, who could not bear parting with their own children, complied with his orders by sending the young Bairu boys who happened to be serving them.[163] It was by this back-door route, for example, that C.B. Katiiti joined Mbarara High School in 1934. Katiiti later became a powerful instrument in the cause of social equality for the Bairu and played a significant role in Uganda's national politics. He was the one of the first members from Ankole in the Legislative Council, in 1958, and a government minister in Uganda's cabinet after independence.[164] Later on, when some of the Bairu could afford paying the fees for their own children, the Bahima resistance to formal western education helped the Bairu children to find vacancies in the school.

A further factor that increased the number of the Bairu at Mbarara High School was the founding in 1928 of the six central schools (lower primary) at Kabwohe, Bweranyangi, Ruyonza, Ibanda, Kinoni, and Kyamate, a point which has already been discussed above. Having given an opportunity to the Bairu to get a basic western education, these schools helped to identify those pupils who were able but who could not afford the fees for Mbarara High School. These pupils were given scholarships and bursaries by the local administration.[165]

At the school the Bahima and Bairu children studied together and ate together. In fact, the school diet, on which the Bahima children were also fed, consisted of mainly agricultural products, as A.C. Pain describes:

> Food was also less plentiful than at Budo; meat was provided once a week; and 'posho' (boiled maize flour) was often substituted for 'matoke' as it was cheaper.[166]

In addition the school had gardening activity in which all the pupils, Bairu and Bahima,

took part:

> One afternoon a week was devoted to 'Agriculture'. This usually meant digging, with little or no educational value, though it did help to provide a small quantity of beans, maize, and groundnuts for the school.[167]

3.2.4 (c) An assessment of Mbarara High School's impact on Bairu-Bahima relations

For some years after its foundation in 1911, Mbarara High School maintained and even strengthened the social inequality between the Bairu and the Bahima, particularly in the political arena. Designed as a Bahima institution and its entry conditional on the payment of fees which could be easily afforded by the Bahima but were by far beyond the means of the Bairu, Mbarara High School was more accessible to the Bahima than to the Bairu. Since the school was the recruiting ground for future leaders in Ankole, it meant that, until the Bairu gained entry into the school in large numbers, they were still kept out of the leadership. For example, according to a list of the *saza* (county-chiefs) of Ankole in 1924, of the ten chiefs nine were Bahima, and one was a Muganda. All ten had attained standard four in their education.[168] At that time none of the Bairu had attained that standard.

It is, nevertheless, significant that, because the education which the school was offering had become one of the most important criteria used in appointing the Bahima and Baganda chiefs, Mbarara High School had started to undermine the political dominance of the Bahima. Before the establishment of the school, the only major qualification for holding an administrative office in Ankole was the right of birth as a *Muhima*. Yet by the 1930s, those Bahima who had attended Mbarara High School or any other mission school came to be preferred to those who had not, when candi-

dates of chieftainship were selected. For example, in 1934 all the illiterate chiefs were retired in 1934 and replaced by the literate ones, whom the British government wanted.[169] In Buganda and Busoga, where mission schools started earlier, this process of replacing the old chiefs with the new ones from the mission schools was already an established practice. Thus the headmaster of Budo High School reported in 1920 that the boys from his school had started to be appointed chiefs:

> Our boys have very definitely begun to be chosen to fill important chieftainships. The chiefs in this country are civil administrators; they are not chieftains of savage tribes.[170]

In 1934, a new governor of Uganda, Sir Bernard Bourdillon, issued an instruction that "more attention should be paid towards the appointment of chiefs of a high moral standard as well as more efficiency".[171] Bourdillon's letter strongly urged the need for chiefs to have attained formal education. Henceforth formal education became a major consideration in the selection of chiefs. In 1937, for example, Ankole's *enganzi*, Nuwa Mbaguta was retired because of his 'conservatism'. The ruling clan of Ankole, the *Bahinda*, were anxious to replace him with a *Muhinda Enganzi* but L. Williams, who was the District-Commissioner of Ankole, insisted that the new *Enganzi* should have been either to Mengo, Budo or Makerere. As there was no Muhinda of that standard, the *Bahinda* accepted the election of an ordinary *Muhima*, Lazaro Kamugungunu, who had been to Mengo High School.[172]

The fact that educational standards were now being taken into consideration in the appointment of chiefs eventually lifted the Bairu to high positions of leadership in Ankole in particular, and in the civil service in general. As will be shown in Chapter Five below, some offices, including the post of the *Enganzi* of Ankole, passed from the Bahima to the Bairu because of the latter's education and ability.

To sum up, it is with some degree of irony that mission schools are numbered among the influences that altered the Bahima-Bairu relations to the advantage of the Bairu. They had been originally intended to equip and strengthen the Bahima in their traditional dominating role in Ankole. To a degree this goal was realised: the Bahima became the pioneers of mission education in Ankole and were thereby enabled to retain the political control for a long time. However, from the 1940s onwards schools contributed to the eventual demise of the Bahima's domination. They, particularly Mbarara High School which had been originally intended for educating the Bahima, received a large influx of the Bairu. In the main this influx was a consequence of church growth. School work was one of the chief evangelistic strategies of the mission, as the churches mushroomed in the predominantly Bairu communities; so did the schools. The mixing together of Bairu and Bahima children at school undermined the assumed attitude of superiority and inferiority which characterised their traditional relations. Bairu products of mission schools, particularly Mbarara High School aspired to professional work. Finding that the Bahima would not allow them into employment in the local administration, most of them went into teaching, a profession which so widened their horizons that they began to aspire to better jobs and became intolerant of the Bahima's domination. However, not until the post second world war period did these Bairu voice their demands for social equality and for equal employment opportunities with the Bahima.

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CHAPTER FOUR

OKUJUNWA

Okujunwa, as the East African *Balokore* Revival Movement was called in Ankole, was another significant force affecting change in Bairu-Bahima relations. Unlike the mission schools and the rest of the Anglican Church whose influence on these relations was largely indirect, the Revival stuck out its neck and openly rejected the traditional pattern of ethnic relations. Very visibly, it was a revolutionary force, standing for the principles of Christian brotherhood and sisterhood, creating a new community of the revived which rated the ethnic identities of being an *Omuhima* or an *Omwiru* as secondary to its newly formed fellowship in the name of Jesus. In the Revival the Bairu and the Bahima met and accepted each other as equals, and stood together to challenge directly traditional Bahima-Bairu relations. Food and free association prohibitions, and taboos which used to reinforce ethnic antagonism between the two groups, were denounced as sinful practices. *Okujunwa* was to be 'civilised', to be guided by the Spirit of Jesus, to break with the traditional conventions and also to reject the blatant aspects of Western secularism.

4.1 The Background

The *Balokole* Revival Movement began in Gahini in Rwanda under the tutelage of the CMS Rwanda Mission in the 1930s, but as Kevin Ward has pointed out, it was fermented in Buganda in the life of the Baganda Christians of the Anglican Church founded by the CMS.[1] There was some spiritual tension in the Native Anglican

Church in Buganda in the 1920s and 1930s. According to Ward, this tension was because the majority of the church failed to attain the principles of its mentors, the CMS, of an "evangelical experience of conversion and personal faith" and were regarded as nominal Christians.[2]

However, it can also be argued that the tensions were fuelled by the missionaries who exaggerated the malaise of the Native Church. By the 1920s a pessimistic view dominated missionary reports from Uganda. These reports lamented that the second-generation Christians of the Ugandan Church were 'nominal'. The 1921 report, for example, claimed that the spiritual condition of Christians at that period was far below that of the first generation Christians.[3]

Most missionaries in their reports between 1910 and the 1930s tell of concentrated efforts on their part to make the church more spiritually lively than it was. Bishop J.J. Willis, Tucker's successor as Uganda's second missionary bishop (1912-34), was a leading figure in that exercise. As soon as he became a bishop in 1912, he indicated that purifying the church would be part of his task:

> The vision of a pure church has been the dream and despair of the best souls in every age yet we return to that ideal, from generation to generation, with indomitable hope.[4]

First he instituted a searching inquiry into the morals of the Christians. Secondly he stipulated grounds for excommunication of Christians from the church.[5] His synod of 1913 banned traditional dancing and naming ceremonies. Temperance was to be a pressing issue and Christians were to be encouraged "to substitute coffee and tea for intoxicants, by building clubs for their sale".[6] Thirdly, his Synod of 1921 pressed forward the programme of the church's purification. It decreed against the baptism of illegitimate children.[7]

In short, Willis's episcopacy made high moral demands on the Ugandan Church and was generally characterised by a pessimistic view of its spiritual state. The missionaries started emphasizing the need for a spiritual Revival, looking back to the pioneer period of the CMS in Uganda, to the example of the Uganda martyrs of the 1880s and to Pilkington's Revival of the 1890s, to provide an impetus for the recovery of this yearned-for spiritual condition.[8] A series of pre-Jubilee evangelistic missions to hasten its coming were launched in the early 1930s.[9] Although this officially planned Revival did not materialise, the missionaries had put in place an expectancy for a spiritual awakening in the Ugandan Church.

Imbued with an evangelistic zeal which characterised the early Ugandan Christians,[10] catechists from Buganda, Ankole and even Kigezi moved to the newly opened CMS Rwanda Mission fields in Rwanda in the 1920s and 1930s. Pioneered as a mission station in 1925 by Kosiya Shalita, a *Mututsi* immigrant to Ankole, with a CMS Rwanda missionary, Geoffrey Holmes, Gahini became the main centre for Ugandan evangelists.[11] It received many Ugandans during the time of Joe Church, a missionary doctor of the Rwanda Mission, in the early 1930s. Joe Church had personal connections with Simeon Nsibambi, who has been described as the "father of the whole Balokole Movement".[12] A well-to-do *Muganda* from around the capital of Buganda, Mengo, Nsibambi was one of the *Baganda* Christians, who had started to respond individually to the missionaries' appeal for spiritual awakening, though with little success in experiencing the desired personal holiness and cleansing. Paradoxically, it seems such converts were not getting much help from the missionaries. Despite the call for higher spiritual standards, the process of what J.V. Taylor called "withdrawal upwards" meant that many of the missionaries did not live in close

fellowship with Ugandan Christians, and thus found it difficult to share in their spiritual concerns.[13]

Nsibambi's spiritual quest had made him attend the Mengo Gospel Church of Mabel Ensor but doing so gave him little satisfaction.[14] His continued search for spiritual fulfilment led him to make contact with Joe Church, who also was suffering a spiritual crisis in his life in 1928.[15] After a retreat together, the two men emerged spiritually refreshed; and a lasting spiritual friendship grew between them which resulted in a flow of committed Baganda Christians - friends and relatives of Nsibambi - to Gahini in Rwanda to work with Church. It was these Ugandan missionaries in Rwanda who stirred the spiritual Revival in Gahini in the early 1930s, and later directed its course as it flowed back into western Uganda, and through Kigezi and Ankole into Buganda.

Connections in origin have been indicated between this Revival and the English holiness tradition of the nineteenth century especially the English Keswick Movement.[16] Nevertheless, despite this European link, the *Balokole* Revival developed a genuine African character with distinct features of African culture and tradition, to the extent that it has been described as "a genuinely African expression of Christianity".[17]

True to its African incarnation, the Revival did not have any document stating what it taught and stood for; all of its activities were informal yet, on the whole, uniform. The core feature of the Revival was the need for *kulokoka*, a *Luganda* word which means "to be saved", which was signalled by an overwhelming personal experience of conversion in the name of Jesus. Hence the name of its members, the *Balokole*, a *Luganda* term meaning the "saved ones". In the early days of the

Revival, Christians experienced dreams and ecstatic experiences but by the 1940s these began to disappear.[18] Revived Christians formed themselves into groups within the general congregations and formed their own fellowship. They saluted one another with a very remarkable dynamic greeting signalled by the first word of the Revival's hymn, sometimes referred to as its anthem, *Tukutendereza*. Open confession of sins and deep personal testimonies were characteristic features of these fellowship groups. Openess, the need for the members not to hide anything in their testimonies, and confessions and the need to cultivate a relationship of trust among the members of the group were very much emphasized.[19]

4.2 The Beginning of *Okujunwa* in Ankole

The Revival movement in Ankole was received as *okujunwa* (rescued, or having had one's impending danger removed). To be a member of the Revival was seen as a partial triumph over one's sinfulness, having one's life guided by the Holy Spirit to fight and overcome temptation. Actually, the first converts to the Revival were referred to as *abomwoyo* (people of the Spirit) and their quality of life earned themselves the name *abeishemwe* (brothers and sisters).[20]

The Revival was introduced into Ankole by Blasio Kigozi, Yosiya Kinuka and Paulo Gahudi in January 1936. They were invited by Arthur Clarke, who was the CMS Rural Dean of Ankole at the time, to lead a week of prayer for the clergy and for the evangelists.[21] For a whole week, from 6 to 13 January, the team held evangelistic meetings at Ruharo. In fact the campaign was broadened beyond the originally intended audience and other Christians were allowed to attend the sessions.

The retreat consisted mainly of preaching and testifying about the saving power of Jesus in their lives; the team related how Jesus had cleansed them of their sins. The whole mission week was characterized by deep personal testimonies and praise, and urgent calls on those listening to be revived.[22] Reporting to Joe Church on this mission Blasio Kigozi testified: "I was very much convicted for the destruction of Mbarara people, until I could not keep myself from crying".[23] According to Eliazer Mugimba, who joined the Revival at that stage, eleven people were spiritually revived during the mission, among them Edward Kakudidi, Adereya Katebaka, Erisa Mutegaya, and Anania Murumba.[24]

Six months later, Joe Church and a team of ten Balokole from Kigezi and Rwanda led a follow-up mission at Mbarara, for two days, on 15 and 16 June 1936.[25] There was a remarkable response to it, and, as in Kabale and Gahini, those who were revived began to experience visions:

> Many had gathered to meet us on our way to Kampala and a gathering had been arranged in the church for 5 p.m. We all spoke and we made an appeal when a thing happened that I had never experienced before. A man began to cry out and howl at the top of of his voice... He said that he had seen a vision of Christ in the church and he saw the awful state of the lost and was overcome with grief for his own past. He asked his friends to help him but he could not stop crying.[26]

The students and the teachers of Mbarara High School were also drawn in, and according to Mugimba, about twenty students joined the movement, and began to give witness to their teachers as well as to their fellow students.[27] The outcome was that "misdemeanour and thefts were confessed and stolen things were returned to the owners, while a new spirit was observed throughout the school".[28] The Revival gained in strength in the school so rapidly that by 1942, the headmaster A.C. Pain, being one of those missionaries who did not see eye to eye with it, began to feel

threatened by its influence among the staff and the students. On 28 May, Pain wrote to the chairman of the board of governors, describing problems caused by the Revival in the school, and making accusations against two members of his *abalokole* staff. He said they had defied his authority, were guilty of making extravagant confessions and of spiritual exhibitionism; and he aggressively concluded the letter:

> If it happens again, the matter will have to go to the local board of governors, and either they or I will have to leave.[29]

Pain suspected that the Revival would make his African staff and students insubordinate to his administration.

4.3 The Spread of the Revival in Ankole

From 1937 onwards, the Revival also began to exert an influence on Bweranyangi. This was mainly the work of the Rev. Erica Sabiti, who was the pastor in charge of the pastorate. He had been spiritually revived the previous year at Mbarara.[30]

Radiating from Mbarara and Bweranyangi, teams of *Abeishemwe* travelled extensively and widely to the Anglican out-station pastorates and churches, calling people to be spiritually revived - to acknowledge their sins and repent of them. Hundreds of Christians, both Bairu and Bahima accepted the message and joined the movement. In fact, it even succeeded in penetrating totally non-Christian populations, especially in some areas of north-east Ankole among the Bahima pastoralists. Among these pastoralists it was popularised by Edward Kakudidi (who was later ordained) who was also spiritually revived at Mbarara in 1936.

Ankole's middle position between Kigezi, which rapidly became a stronghold of the Revival, and Buganda, which assumed most of the central leadership of the

movement, helped her to receive preachers from the Balokole commuting between Buganda, Kigezi and Rwanda. Erica Sabiti's parish at Kinoni, for example, became an important stopover for the Balokole travelling between these areas, as Joe Church explains:

> Erica Sabiti was now at Kinoni, 14 miles from Mbarara, on the main road to Kampala so it was easy for us to visit him often.[31]

Apparently, Church preferred to stay at Kinoni than to stay at Mbarara with his fellow European missionaries, who were outside the Revival fellowship. For instance, when he was stranded in Mbarara in 1936 and stayed at the CMS mission at Ruharo, he remarked:

> I was determined that I could not have a happy Christmas in these circumstances with missionaries who did not see eye to eye with me on Revival.[32]

In fact, in the early 1940s, in Ankole's western county, Kajara, the Revival was popularized by preachers from Rujumbura, in north Kigezi, notably Semu Ndimbirwe and Yosiya Bugari, who were instrumental in introducing and nurturing the Revival there.[33] The Balokole preachers from Buganda also played a significant role in the propagation of Revival in the eastern areas of Ankole, assisting Kakudidi among the Bahima pastoralists in Nyabushozi.[34]

From the mid 1940s the Revival began to find its way to all parts of Ankole, and was arousing a favourable response from all sectors of Ankole society, from both the Bairu and the Bahima. For example, Clarke reported in December 1946:

> On the other hand there is a growing number of people who are making a new discovery of the saving power of Jesus Christ. Many people, clergy, teachers, doctors, and nurses, clerks, shopkeepers, porters and women in their homes, have come into newness of life in these days and we thank God for it.[35]

That the Revival was growing rapidly in Ankole at that time is also corroborated by

the fact that out of the twenty-five *Balokole* students at Bishop Tucker Memorial College, Mukono, who were expelled in 1941 for defying the regulations of the Warden by holding their prayer meetings and preaching at dawn in the morning every day, five were from Ankole.[36] They were Eliazer Mugimba, and Edward Kakudidi on the ordination course, Zakayo Kagumire on the Lay-Readers course, and Andereya Rushegye and Enoch Begyira on the catechists course. In fact, the five from Ankole were the second largest number from a single deanery; the highest being from Buganda.[37] Only Mugimba was a Muhima: the rest were Bairu.

The initial impact of the Revival was two-fold. On the one hand, among the Bahima the Revival made a lot of fresh conversions from adherents of the Traditional Religion. As has been shown, although the Anglican Church had allied with the Bahima, it had not had much success hitherto in converting them. In the 1940s and 50s the Revival's message reached them in their grazing fields, and through the Revival many were incorporated into the Anglican Church.[38] On the other hand, the primary effect of the Revival among the Bairu was on the church congregations, among the already converted - mainly the teachers, church workers and shopkeepers.[39]

It has been noted that in the 1930s and 1940s the Revival's relationship with the missionary church and colonial administration in Uganda on the whole was far from being cordial.[40] The British District Commissioner of Kigezi suspected that the Revival might result in a political resistance movement against colonial rule. The Revival's opposition to the growing of sorghum which was the district's main cash and food crop caused added concern. Many missionaries also thought that it was breeding insubordination among the Africans. For example, Church, in his circular

letter of September, 1941, noted this tendency among most of his fellow missionaries:

> Many missionaries are giving way to negative and imaginary fears...They feared apparently some of the accompaniments of Revival that had been seen before...disloyalty and insubordination.[41]

These missionaries found the Revival's radical egalitarianism about African and European equality too hard to accept. It must be noted that by the 1930s (when the Revival emerged) many missionaries in Uganda were imbued with racial pride and their attitudes to Ugandan Christians had worsened.[42] They entertained double Christian standards between themselves and the Africans. They took their own Christian commitment for granted, but closely watched the African Christian, regardless of the period and intensity of his Christian experience, to ensure that his devotion was on the right track. 'Nominal Christian' was a term that was used to describe the latter but was never applied to the former. Most of these missionaries maintained little social contact with the Africans except through their official duties. Their living quarters were out of bounds for the Africans; only their domestic servants were readily allowed access. In fact, by 1925 it was an established rule of the mission that "Native classes must not be held in, and Natives must not sleep in, CMS houses without special permission of the Standing Committee".[43]

For J.V. Taylor, himself a CMS missionary in Buganda, the findings from his research into the history of the Anglican Church in Buganda in the 1950s were very revealing about the social gap between the missionaries and the Ugandan Christians:

> The fact that a great deal of it was news to me after ten years' work as a missionary is only an indication of my own shameful ignorance during that time and the remoteness of the 'ivory castle' in which most missionaries in Uganda, at any rate, were, and mostly still are, confined.[44]

As Catherine Robins pointed out, the Revival could not tolerate such assumptions of

European superiority.[45] It exposed both missionaries and Africans to the same Christian standards and also enabled the Africans to confront the missionaries who failed their Christian obligations. Most missionaries found such exposure very disturbing.[46]

In Ankole, this conflict between the Revival and other sectors of society was experienced but only on a small scale. Out of a deep quest for holiness, the *abeishemwe* were sometimes exuberant and rash. Emotions ran high. Singing would go on well into the night. Sins were confessed openly; and even in the case of sexual offences the names were given of the partners with whom those offences were committed, whether the partners were members of the Revival or not. The non-*abeishemwe* felt themselves to be under moral attack from the *abeishemwe*. Most of the African clergy were not happy with the Revival members' critical approach to their authority in the church, which the latter labelled as *obukuru* (clerical superiority), claiming that the clergy hid behind their clerical status so as to reject the *engiri y'okujunwa'* (the gospel about release from the imminent danger), as the *abeishemwe* called their preaching.[47]

The British officials in Ankole seem not to have been as suspicious about the subversive nature of the Revival in relation to colonial rule as those in Kigezi. However, they were concerned that it should not disrupt peace and order. The District Commissioner, D.W. Robertson, instructed the *Omugabe's* government in 1942 to ensure that the chiefs kept a close eye on the movement.[48] In Ankole the movement did little to upset the colonial administration. As in Kigezi, it rejected the growing of sorghum but sorghum in Ankole was neither widely grown nor a cash crop, as it was in Kigezi. In fact, the *Abeishemwe* in Ankole were enthusiastic about

growing coffee and groundnuts which were Ankole's main cash crops. In addition, although in the 1930s there were incidents in which members of the movement disrupted Sunday worship, as was the case at Ruharo in 1941, the *Abeishemwe* were a law-abiding community in the eyes of the government, they paid their personal graduated tax on time and were co-operative in fulfilling the by-laws.[49]

Certainly, there were missionaries, such as Clement Pain in Ankole, who did not welcome the Revival, but most missionaries did. In any case, not many missionaries resided in Ankole. One group of missionaries resided at Ruharo and another at Bweranyangi; the latter group was more well disposed to the Revival than the former. In 1947, Miss Kathleen Mawer, the headmistress of the Girls' Boarding School, confessed to being a member of the Revival. She recruited Revival teachers from Ndejje in Buganda and cultivated a Revival culture among both the students and teachers such that when the school moved to Bweranyangi in 1952 it had already been assimilated into it. All her successor missionary headmistresses, Nancy Chase (1955-65), and Joan Hall (1955-74) were recruited from the Rwanda mission field at Kabale and were members of the Revival.[50]

According to Ward, "the 1950 Kako Convention can be seen as bringing to an end the critical period in Balokole-Church of Uganda relations".[51] Mutual acceptance of the Revival in Ankole appears to have been earlier than that. The students from Ankole who were expelled from Mukono found on their return in 1941 that they were all deployed by the deanery, some as lay-readers and others as catechists.[52]

Much of the credit for integrating the Revival into the church in Ankole goes to the Rev Erica Sabiti. One of the few educated Ugandan clergy, and an *Omuhima* aristocrat, Sabiti was the first *Munyankore* clergyman to embrace the Revival. He

was well accepted in missionary circles as both a capable clergyman and an earnest member of the Revival. His conviction was that it was the responsibility of the church leaders to guide the movement. Through his personal influence, he gradually helped the *abeishemwe* in their personal confessions, testimonies and preaching to witness to true repentance of sin and to the saving power of Jesus Christ without unnecessarily offending those outside the Revival. Sabiti was critical of his fellow church leaders for giving, in his opinion, little guidance to the Balokole, complaining "that instead of being helped by *Abakade be Kanisa* (church leaders) they (the Balokole) are being criticised and laughed at".[53] Apparently, what Sabiti was doing in Ankole is also what other leaders of the Revival in Rwanda, Kigezi and Buganda were working at. Reporting what Yosiya Kinuka and William Nagenda were doing in this respect at Gahini, the cradle of the Revival, Church wrote in March 1937:

> William and Yosiya were almost brutal in refusing anyone to confess who was not to the point....helping each one to see his sin and to see his Saviour.[54]

The *abeishemwe's* testimonies and preaching in Ankole gradually became less offensive to, and less condemnatory of, other Christians. In addition, church leaders who had joined the Revival also helped other Revival Christians in putting forward their testimonies and confessions properly with little offence to the hearers. Above all, the message of the Revival, with its emphasis on repentance and the need for the saving power of Jesus Christ for everybody in whatever condition, baptised or non-baptised, Christian leader or not, and the visible practical result of spiritually changed lives among the *abeishemwe*, increasingly improved the Revival's image among the rest of the Christians.[55]

From the 1950s onwards the Revival continued to grow in strength, and its

relationship with the church in Ankole became so cordial that the practices of the Revival - giving testimonies, public confession and repentance - became a common feature in the church, even amidst the general Sunday worship. The *abeishemwe* came to be considered the most sincere Christians and reliable members of the various congregations in the church in Ankole. This growing identification of the *abeishemwe* in Ankole with the heart of the church was because it was they, rather than the non-*abeishemwe*, who took the Christian faith very seriously. Indeed, in the *CMS Historical Records* (1954-1955), the *Balokole* are praised, albeit with a little exaggeration, as "the only people who know the Lord" in the church of Uganda.[56]

On the whole, the *abeishemwe* were much more enthusiastic at saying daily prayers, reading the Bible (those of them who knew how to read), fulfilling the church obligations, attending weekly Sunday worship, and giving their *buzimbi* (church dues) than the ordinary church member. Above all, the *abeishemwe* had a burning desire to preach the gospel and witness for Christ. In this respect, they became a great asset, not only in converting non-Christians to the church but also in bringing the converted Christians to a serious commitment to Christ.

4.4 Why the Revival Movement was Readily Accepted in Ankole

It seems there is no wholly adequate explanation for the rapid and extensive acceptance of the Revival movement among both the Bairu and the Bahima in Ankole. Nevertheless, the fact that the movement very quickly became an integral part of the church in Ankole is very revealing. The *Banyankore* received the Revival as another version (apparently a better one) of Anglican Christianity, a version which gave

supreme value to the individual's personal religious experience as a genuine claim of entry to the new religion in contrast to the missionary version which emphasized the ordeal of formal teaching and examination. As has been shown, baptism courses lasted for nine months in the Anglican mission. Baptism was offered only to those who passed the examination which included reading, and unsuccessful ones had to undergo another nine-month period. In fact, very few qualified for baptism at the end of the first course, the majority underwent two courses.[57]

D.J. Stenning suggests that the Revival filled a religious vacuum created by the disruption of traditional religion through the establishment of the British administration; a vacuum which the institutional missionary church had not sufficiently filled. He further says that it benefited from a close affinity between some of the characteristics of the Revival and some of Ankole's traditional beliefs and practices, particularly in the area of confession and testimony - which most people in Ankole found to be familiar ground.[58] However, it must be noted that the *Abeishemwe* strongly denounced any attempt to associate the Revival with traditional beliefs.[59]

What appears to have been a general trend in the spread of the Revival in Uganda is that it caught on more easily in the areas where Anglican Christianity had been widely accepted: in Kigezi, Buganda, Toro Busoga, Bugisu and West Nile. However, in Bunyoro and in the northern districts of Teso, Lango, Acholi and Karamoja where the Anglican Church was weak, the Revival did not find many followers.[60] It is therefore likely that in Ankole the Revival also benefited from the readiness of the people to accept the new *dini*. Actually, by the 1940s, the decade in which the Revival first spread to Ankole, the levels of acceptance of Anglican Christianity in Ankole was by comparison nearing that in the oldest parts of the CMS

mission, as Ankole's rural dean observed in 1939:

> In Ankole the work is now approximating more to the nature of that in Buganda and the more established part of the Diocese.[61]

The CMS missionaries in charge of the Ankole field, Clarke and Ernest Bawtree, were sympathetic to the Revival. It was through the former's initiative that the Revival first found its way to Ankole. In addition, most of the earliest indigenous clergy were members of the Revival. Only three *Banyankore* clergy, Canon Yoweri Buningwire, and Canon Semei Kashenya and Canon Kalyahwari did not confess to being members.[62] The rest of the Banyankore clergy joined the Revival and played an active role in its spread. For example, as has already been seen Erica Sabiti was instrumental in the spread of Revival in his parish at Kinoni in the 1940s, and in his deanery of Bweranyangi in the 1950s; so was Edward Kakudidi in his parish at Kazo in Nyabushozi, and Kesi Bakamwanga at Mahwa in Kajara, to mention but a few.

4.5 An Assessment of the Revival's Impact on Bairu-Bahima Relations

Advancing from both sides - from Buganda and Kigezi - and finding some common ground both in Ankole's traditions and in the Anglican Church, the Revival spread rapidly in Ankole among both the Bairu and the Bahima. The church officials at first eyed it with suspicion because of its excesses, its open denunciations of both themselves and of the rest of the Christians, but they patiently accommodated it until it became an integral part of the church in Ankole.

This Revival challenged, and fundamentally changed, the traditional relationship between the Bairu and the Bahima, particularly of those who belonged to it. Not only did it enable the Bairu and Bahima to meet and accept each other as equals, but

it also broke down the traditional barriers in Ankole society that separated them. The deep experience of the Revival healed the impaired relationship between the Bairu and the Bahima in an unprecedented way, bringing forth a community of the revived in which the two spontaneously shared a sense of common belonging, and in which they enjoyed a close fellowship with each other.

4.5.1 The Revival as a platform of equality

The Revival movement, by drawing its numbers from both the Bairu and the Bahima, provided a platform on which the Bairu and the Bahima met and accepted each other as equals. From its beginning in Rwanda and its advance into Kigezi, the Revival had demonstrated its commitment to absolute equality and fellowship among the believers. The spiritually revived Christians detested any form of distinction, and began to organise themselves in fellowship groups in which they demonstrated their common spiritual experience and equality in Christ.[63] Human and spiritual barriers that prevented deep fellowship were confessed and an intimate relationship would emerge where there had previously been discord or misunderstanding. For example, as early as December 1936, the missionaries in Kigezi and Rwanda were already amazed at how this spirit in the Revival was breaking ethnic biases there, and one of them wrote:

> Fellowship is becoming one of the marked results of the blessing that we have had. Tribal distinctions are being swept away in a way we have never seen before. Kabale is in a different language area from Gahini. The Bakiga, over the border, were once sworn enemies of the tall Batutsi. Even last year there was still fear and mistrust between Christians of these our two first stations, but it seems that under the hand of God, that barrier has absolutely vanished. A deep and dangerous thousand foot gorge separates the people of Rwanda from those of Urundi. A new thing has been seen here. Bands of Christians from Rwanda have gone over into Urundi to tell of the brotherhood of

Christ.[64]

In Rwanda itself, the *Abaka* movement, as the Revival was at first known there, has been identified as the first resistance outlet of the Bahutu against Batutsi domination, though it was later overtaken in that role by Roman Catholicism.[65]

This egalitarian aspect of the Movement was very quickly apparent in Ankole. In addition to theft, adultery, drinking, and taking part in traditional religious practices, which were the most common sins confessed in Revival all over East Africa, the Revival in Ankole emphasized the sinfulness of *amahari ga Bairu na Bahima* (Bahima-Bairu ethnic conflicts). Some of the first converts to the Revival in Ankole, such as Eliazer Mugimba, Andereya Katebaka and Kosiya Nyaishaija relate how crucial the denunciation of *amahari ga Bairu na Bahima* was in the movement.[66]

As has been shown, to be a member of the Revival in Ankole was *okujunwa*, to have one's life guided by the Holy Spirit, and to live as *abeishemwe*. It was believed that life in the Revival fellowship was more important than being a *Mwiru* or a *Muhima*.[67] Such a concept of holding Christian identity above ethnic identity was a revolutionary element in the re-ordering of Bairu-Bahima relations. As has been shown, although Anglican Christianity had brought about a new distinction between the Bairu and Bahima Christians on the one hand and the Bairu and Bahima 'pagans' on the other hand, it had not interfered with their ethnic identities. However, the Revival now insisted that being a *Mwiru* or a *Muhima* was immaterial in the new Christian fellowship but what counted was one's experience of the saving power of Jesus, and the acceptance of one's sinfulness.

It was contrary to the spirit of Revival for the *abeishemwe* to cherish the traditional Bairu-Bahima relations of rank and privilege. Any Bairu and Bahima

Revivalists who confessed all other sins, but ignored this one of malice and envy against the other ethnic group, were considered not to have *okuhendeka* (been broken well enough that is, giving in to the conviction of the Spirit or to the will of the fellowship), and their claim to be 'saved' was not taken seriously. Eliasaph Kituna (Archdeacon of Kabwohe between 1981 and 1989) recounted to me his experience. He joined the Revival when he was working as a lay reader at Masheruka in Sheema in 1942. He confessed his sinfulness of smoking, committing adultery, drinking and greed but did not confess his bitterness against the Bahima until 1958. A Muhima clergyman had refused to recommend him for further training on the ordination course at Mukono. Kituna saw ethnic differences as the reason for the refusal. He recalls that because of his failure to *okuta omumushana* (bring to light) this ethnic grudge, his fellow Revivalists treated him as a lukewarm member throughout this period from 1942 to 1958. His name was not always forwarded at the time of selecting members for the team meeting (an inner circle which handled the logistics of the evangelistic missions and team meetings). Rarely would he be asked to select a portion of scripture for reading at the weekly fellowship meetings despite the fact that he was the most qualified theologian in the group. He felt fully accepted only after an evangelistic weekend meeting at Kitagata in 1958 where he publicly denounced having entertained such ethnic bitterness.[68]

Is it conceivable that to denounce ethnic differences was a matter of making a purely formal confession in order to earn full acceptance within the movement which did not affect one's personal attitude? Although it is difficult to rule out such a possibility, it is still safe to assume that most of the *abeishemwe's* personal claims about having overcome the ethnic differences were genuine. It is important to observe

that, as in the *Banyankore* traditional religion, in the Revival belief and practice were inseparable.[69] What the Revivalists confessed was expected to be demonstrated in their lives.

Furthermore, the Revival practice of giving testimonies was strongly opposed to, and had inbuilt safeguards against, false testimonies. It was one of the ideals of the Revival that one's testimony should be part and parcel of one's public confession. It was by this public confession that the individual was incorporated into an existing fellowship of the 'saved'; his place in that fellowship was conditional on his ability to give testimonies of repentance of past sins which the fellowship accepted as sound and up to date. In any case, most of the members of the fellowship lived in more or less the same locality. As Ankole was "an oral society"[70] people were generally well informed about one another's physical and spiritual welfare, and they could easily tell whether a testimony was genuine or not. In fact, should the fellowship suspect that someone's testimony was not genuine, the rest of the members challenged him publicly to accept, expose and confess his sin. In Revival terminology in Ankole, this was called *okuta omumushana*, which literally means putting someone or something in the light. In such circumstances the individual had to *okuhendeka* (show brokenness), that is accept the fellowship's verdict on his testimony: otherwise he risked being suspected of moral 'backsliding', falling away from 'salvation'. The *abeishemwe* in giving testimonies were thus well aware of this censorship by their fellowship groups and would not risk naked false testimonies. It is true that some false testimonies did on occasion filter through the system but these were in most cases of the type that were so personal that they could not easily be disproved; testimonies about ethnic differences, on the other hand, could scarcely be of that kind,

because the fellowship could so easily validate them.

Nonetheless, even those testimonies which conformed to a stereotype still constitute sound evidence of how the *abeishemwe* had started to feel uncomfortable with the traditional Bairu-Bahima relations and to seek means of changing it. In addition, by claiming the blood of Jesus as the empowering factor over the ethnic bitterness and differences, the Revival was undermining the ideological and moral foundations of ethnic inequalities in Ankole, for it had traditionally been held that such inequalities were willed and instituted by *Ruhanga*.

Furthermore, the Revival provided an opportunity for mutual social interaction between the Bairu and Bahima through regular meetings and fellowships. Anyone who confessed to being a member joined in the nearest Revival fellowship group. The composition of these groups depended on which ethnic category was predominant in the Revival in the locality. According to Blasio Itima both Bairu and Bahima were equally represented in the Revival at Rutoma in 1944.[71] Clarke also reported that these meetings and fellowships were on the increase, and none of them was exclusively composed of either Bairu or Bahima.[72]

The groups met twice a week, on Wednesday and Friday evenings. The sitting was arranged in a sort of semi-circle and the fellowship meeting was composed of two major parts. The first part was for public confession, whereby the members narrated to the group, and prayed to Jesus to forgive them, the sins committed or revealed since the previous meeting. The second part was Bible reading in which most members shared, elucidating the biblical text from their past experiences.[73] These weekly or bi-weekly fellowships have been noted to be of the same pattern among all the Revival groups in East Africa.[74]

These activities of the *abeishemwe,* as Dr.Stanley Smith, one of the pioneer CMS Rwanda missionaries, put it, were "a time for sharing spiritual experiences in the presence of Christ, where all meet in Him on a level of equality".[75] The members shared their spiritual experiences, prayed together and for one another, studied the Bible together and encouraged one another.

The adherents of the Revival were charged with the mandate to bring others into the movement. Motivated by the belief that it was only they, 'the saved ones' who would go to *Omwiguru* (heaven) and inherit *amagara gatahwaho* (eternal life) while the rest would go to damnation, the *abeishemwe* felt an obligation to preach which was tantamount to a life saving mission to the 'un-saved', those who were heading for hell. Evangelistic missions lasting for a couple of days or even weeks, and preaching teams were organised in which both Bairu and Bahima Revivalists mixed freely together and shared the same accommodation, food and even utensils.[76]

'Household clusters' like those of Buganda *Balokole*[77] also formed in the compounds of the leading *abeishemwe,* notably those of Rev. Erica Sabiti at Kinoni in Rwampara, Zabuloni Kashokye at Kabira in Sheema and Edward Kakudidi at Kazo in Nyabushozi.[78] Certain members in the Revival, especially the young boys and girls, felt their newly-found faith threatened by their 'unsaved' environment. Sometimes their families required them to take part in activities which were not acceptable to the Revival, such as family and lineage based traditional religious rituals and practices, and the brewing of *amarwa,* an alcoholic drink for the Bairu families in traditional Ankole. In the case of adolescent girls and boys there was also the social pressure of their families wanting to get actively involved in the arrangement of their marriages. Members of the *abeishemwe* fellowship resented such an involvement, for

they feared that the families could entice the young members to take up an unsaved partner who might pull back his 'saved' spouse from 'salvation'. They were also not sure about the sincerity of those families in organising Christian marriages, as most of the 'non-saved' people, though Christians, still combined Christian marriage ceremonies and arrangements with the traditional religious rituals and ceremonies, which the saved people utterly abhorred.[79]

4.5.2 The Revival and Traditional Ethnic Barriers

The Revival violated the customary taboos and laws in Ankole which helped to reinforce the traditional Bairu-Bahima relations. For example, the Bahima Revivalists started eating vegetable food, which was traditionally the food for the Bairu, but was prohibited for the Bahima because they believed that such food would affect the health of their cattle.[80] Together with their Bairu brethren they also began to eat such foods as chicken, eggs, pork and *enswa* (white ants) which were taboo to both the Bairu and the Bahima.

The initiative in defying these taboos deliberately was taken by Erica Sabiti and his fellowship group at Kinoni. Sabiti, being a highly placed *Muhima* himself, had a predominantly Bahima group. In 1948, the fellowship approved a marriage between a *Muhima* girl, Kobuteme, and a *Mwiru* boy, Katwaza of Kajara, both of whom were members of their fellowship; and from then on the marriage of Bahima girls to Bairu boys gradually became an accepted norm among the *abeishemwe*. Although such an ethnic mixed marriage was by no means unprecedented, it is remembered as one of the earliest that was socially approved by the majority of the Bahima who were concerned. Before then, some educated Bairu boys had married Bahima girls but in

an atmosphere of disapproval on the part of the girls' parents and of suspicion on the side of the parents of the boy.[81]

Not only did the 'saved' Bahima eventually begin to adopt the Bairu diet, but they also gradually started to take on some elements of the Bairu's way of life. They gradually began to leave their traditional nomadic life and, like the Bairu, to establish permanent settled homes. Once settled, these Bahima also started growing vegetable crops alongside their cattle rearing. They also started to encourage their Bairu Revivalist colleagues to own cattle, and sometimes advanced cattle loans to them. In effect, this move by the Bahima Revivalists, challenged the traditional belief that the Bairu's way of life, namely the cultivation of crops and a diet of vegetable food, was inimical to the accumulation of cattle wealth. In its turn, it also decreased the animosity which the Bahima felt for the Bairu who owned cattle.

The Revival tended to identify the nomadic aspect of pastoralism, the practice of keeping on the move searching for better pastures, as a manifestation of *obutamarwa,* meaning selfishness, greed, and discontent.[82] Its teaching instructed that the Bahima Revivalists should lead a settled pastoral life. Although the Revival bore the deep imprint of an African cultural perspective, it rejected some African values and life styles, which it considered perilous to its evangelistic venture; and nomadic life was one of these. The nomadic Bahima would be very difficult to bring into the Revival's organised fellowships. Similarly, they would not fit into the 'civilised' model of the *abeishemwe* which followed some aspects of the Western way of life, such as being modern in dress and general life style, drinking tea instead of milk, being clothed in imported cloth rather than local garments, sending children to school to learn in the Western style and not in that of their own community.

Other elements of African culture which the Revival disapproved of included local medicine, the brewing and drinking of *amarwa* (local beer) and the growing of *embire* (a type of green banana) and sorghum, from which this beer was brewed. Polygamy, and rituals and ceremonies which were performed at the critical moments of life as rites of passage such as pregnancy, birth, marriage, death, and entering a new house were also unacceptable among the *abeishemwe*. It must, however, be noted that the Revival did not accept Western civilisation completely either. Body make-up and ornaments among women and girls, long hair, beads and earrings were condemned. Mini-skirts and mini dresses and head-scarves, wide-bottomed trousers and the growing of a beard among men were disapproved of as well. It was so emphasised that in length dresses and skirts should cover the legs as far as the ankles so much that such dresses were nicknamed 'Tukutendereza'.[83]

Similarly, the action of the Bahima *abeishemwe* confessing their sins publicly and in the company of the Bairu was a breach of accepted behaviour among the Bahima. Whereas it is attractive to agree with D.J. Stenning that the Bahima found confession and testimony in the Revival familiar since these features were prominent in their traditional religion,[84] it is important to point out that the *abeishemwe* would not subscribe to such a view. Moreover, both the content and the form of the confession and testimony in the Revival were quite different from that of the traditional Bahima religious rituals, as were the circumstances. In the Bahima's traditional religious rituals the initiate made his confession and testimony only once at the time of his initiation, never to repeat them again. These rituals were called *okwata eibanga* (divulging secrets), and their publicity was strictly limited to those who were presiding over the ritual; and the latter were not allowed to disclose any of the

contents of their initiate's utterances.[85]

The Revival's critical attitude to traditional conventions not only challenged some of the barriers that hindered mutual social interaction between the Bairu and the Bahima but also increased the communal cohesion between the Bairu and Bahima Revivalists. As regards Christian experience and socialization, the *abeishemwe* was a community of its own, distinct from the rest to such an extent that the Bahima *abeishemwe* became close to the Bairu *abeishemwe* and distant from the non-*abeishemwe* Bahima, who resented the *abeishemwe's* acts of defiance of the tradition, and were opposed to ethnic intermarriage and to vegetable diet. The latter falsely accused the *abeishemwe* of eating abominable things like human faeces and maggots. Erica Sabiti was accused before the Omugabe by his own brother, Ernest Katungi (a saza chief and at one time Ankole's Prime Minister) of encouraging Bahima to compromise their dignity by eating foods which were forbidden by the *Kihima* tradition.[86] These exaggerated or false accusations were intended to break the morale of the *abeishemwe* in maintaining their new communal outlook since this threatened the frame work of social custom which had preserved the prestige and the economic superiority of the Bahima. Even cattle exchanges, a custom practised by all Bahima, could hardly be made between the *abeishemwe* and non-*abeishemwe* Bahima.[87]

The same was also true among the Bairu *abeishemwe;* they found association with Bahima Revivalists easier than with the non-*abeishwemwe* Bairu who, although they did not mind the act of breaking the tradition, were concerned about the consequences of abrogating it. The latter were apprehensive that some misfortune might happen to the *abeishemwe* or occur in the land because of the deliberate defiance of the customs. They also doubted the idea of intermarriage, wondering

whether Bahima women would cope with their way of life, digging and preparing vegetable food. Such an increase in social interaction between the Bairu and the Bahima in the Revival was a powerful force eroding the Bahima dominance whose roots had been securely grounded in the widespread belief in their innate superiority and in their practice of social separation.[88]

4.5.3 The Revival and Social Status

The Revival became a passage en route from the traditional way of doing things to 'modernity' and Western civilisation. Although it embodied an African outlook, and also rejected blatant Western secularism, it was a modernising agent. It encouraged Western habits such as drinking tea with sugar daily at regular intervals and eating at table; and it promoted belief in Western medicine, education and clothing. Stenning found that the Bahima *abeishemwe* were much more "oriented to a cash economy", and were also "more ready purchasers of Western goods, such as European dress, bicycles, domestic utensils, light furniture" than the other Bahima.[89] As such the Revival became not only a supplement, if not an alternative, to education as a means of incorporation into the new *dini,* but it also became a means of orientation to the rapid social change which swept through colonial Africa in the twentieth century. This modernising aspect of the Revival also had an impact on the Bairu-Bahima relations.

The Revival experience imbued the members with an experience of having decisively broken with sin, and an assurance that the life they led, if ordered by God, guaranteed them happiness both during this physical life, and in the life hereafter or, in the Revival language, "going to heaven", that is possessing eternal life. This

assurance about going to heaven sometimes led some of the *abeishemwe*, particularly in the early part of the movement, to despise accumulating earthly riches. However, in practical terms, the Revival movement encouraged decent living and hard work. As has been shown, the *abeishemwe* disapproved of the nomadic life among the Bahima. They also vehemently opposed the practice of labour migration among the Bairu, which, as has been shown, was a common practice in Ankole during the colonial period. They feared that a prolonged absence from the Revival fellowship which would be the inevitable result of labouring in Buganda would make the *ow'eishemwe* backslide.[90]

Through group fellowship the economically disadvantaged brethren were supported throughout Ankole. The group fellowship monitored the economic needs of the individuals through their testimonies and the openness of 'walking in the light'. In the main, government taxes, children's school fees, dowries, and housing were the most common economic items that affected the less economically able members and in which the group fellowship provided assistance.[91] In the case of taxes and school fees, the fellowship contributed hard cash. Regarding the dowries, usually the more well-to-do brethren from the fellowship dispensed patronage to the young brethren concerned, and offered to pay the dowry for them. Housing needs arose mainly in the case of helpless and usually childless widows: the fellowship generally contributed their physical labour and built the house themselves.[92] However, the fellowship sometimes gave no more than advice to the member on how to meet his economic problem.

Through this fellowship group solidarity, the *abeishemwe* supported one another in orientating themselves to the colonial cash economy. The fellowship was

concerned with the performance of each of its members at their jobs, professional or non-professional, because it asserted that being saved consisted in both word and deed. That is why it was emphasized within the Revival that confession and restitution be made, wherever possible, to whoever had been damaged by the publicly confessed sinfulness. Excellent performance and responsibility were acclaimed as part of the Revival's ideals and poor performance and irresponsibility were regarded as evidence of a lapse in spiritual commitment. The *abeishemwe* expected the gardens or cattle of each of their members to be well maintained, or at least to a standard acceptable in the locality. Mutegaya and Katebaka recall that the fellowship used to put those *abeishemwe* whose gardens or cattle were not well looked after in 'light', that is they were asked to explain why this was so.[93]

Although there were some *abeishemwe* who did not meet the expected standard, most of them, supported by their fellowship groups, tried to keep up this spirit of excellence. For example, the Bairu Revivalists helped one another in establishing gardens for the newly introduced cash crops of coffee and groundnuts, in getting access to seeds and seedlings, and in determining the time suitable for planting. There is considerable oral evidence that the Bairu members of Revival were among the first Banyankore to establish large coffee fields in Ankole, and to benefit economically from coffee.[94]

Similarly, the Bahima Revivalists gave up a nomadic life and took up a settled existence. Through this change there also accrued to them a number of economic advantages. First, it enabled them to acquire and own land on a permanent basis. Secondly, they started improving their grazing methods, receiving and adhering to veterinary advice, improving the quality of their herds, fencing the land, clearing the

grazing fields of unnecessary shrubs that interfered with grass growth, all of which their former nomadic life could not allow. Thirdly, it made it possible for them to grow some crops to supplement their diet.[95]

Furthermore, the Revival's over-emphasis on the will of the fellowship helped the brethren towards increased economic performance. The "will of the fellowship" meant that all the decisions of the brethren, even trivial ones like wanting to go on a journey for a day or so to visit a friend or a sick relative, as well as major concerns like contracting a marriage, buying or selling land, a cow or a car, had to be brought before the fellowship for sanctioning. The decision of the fellowship had to be accepted as final by all the members and adhered to. Although there were deserters among the brethren who sometimes made their own decision independently of the fellowship, their number was not great. Perhaps the reason was that, for the *abeishemwe*, adherence to the decision of the fellowship was given almost the same weight as moral soundness. Therefore failure to accept it exposed the individual to the same suspicion of *okugwa* (backsliding) as would breaking the moral code of the movement. Such a member could no longer be trusted as being truly saved.

Despite the fact that this decision-making process sometimes led to delayed action (some of my informants cited certain instances where some of the brethren missed purchasing plots of land or cattle because of it), there is considerable evidence that it had practical and positive effects on the economic performance of the brethren. In 1959, for example, when the Department of Lands and Survey in the British administration allowed Ugandans to own the plots of land on which they lived on an individual free-hold basis, the brethren in Ankole as a group resolved that all their members, to whom it was applicable, should have their plots of land surveyed.[96]

Similarly this process of group-fellowship decision-making was a great economic asset to the brethren in their day-to-day economic performance. Granted that it could easily paralyse individual personal initiative, and cause delayed action, it could also save the members from hasty and disastrous economic decisions, and many brethren gave testimony of the latter. The fellowship group also shared in the responsibility of making the decision a reality. For example, in the case of making purchases, the fellowship appointed one or two of their members to assist the member concerned in the process. Both the nominees and the concerned members had to report their success or failure in the following fellowship meeting. Additionally, the fellowship stood by the member if an adverse economic outcome resulted from their decision, in terms of both compensating him and psychologically and spiritually consoling him.[97]

Furthermore it is clear that the Revival affected its members' attitude to work, and promoted diligence in labour. For example, in his study of the Revival in Nyabushozi in the north east of Ankole in 1967, Nshemerirwe observed that, "whenever the Revival members are present they proportionately do more work than the other Christians".[98] Although Mark Winter dismisses Nshemerirwe's observation as a subjective assertion,[99] the dismissal is unwarranted when Nshemerirwe's observation is considered in its context of the pastoral Bahima in Nyabushozi. In the first instance, it has been noted that quality of performance at work and responsibility was part of the ideal of being a committed member in the Revival. Secondly, the pastoral Bahima had always despised manual work as work fit for the Bairu alone and hated engaging in it.[100] There is no doubt that it was the Revival movement which revolutionised the pastoral Bahima's attitude to manual work. It was generally the Bahima

Revivalists who were the first to accept manual work and to engage in it, and to grow vegetable food to supplement their diets. Thus it seems likely that the 'Protestant work ethic' nurtured by the Revival enabled its adherents to gain an economic advantage over those outside the Revival fellowship.

Improved economic performance affected the *abeishemwe's* social status, giving it an upward momentum. Firstly, by generating for them a sizable income, they were able to purchase portions of landed property and consumer goods, which signified modern living and high status in colonial Ankole during this period of rapid social change. Often such property took the form of a sizeable square iron-roofed house in one's *kibanja* (piece of cultivating land) which was strikingly different from the traditional village hut with thatch. It is reckoned that by the end of the 1950s nearly all the brethren in Kagango sub-county, for example, had put up this type of house.[101] Other items included bicycles, transistor radios and furniture. These items were regarded as an amazing wonder in Ankole up to the sixties; and they commanded respect for their owners, and were symbols of modernity and 'civilisation'.

Secondly, in addition to modern goods, their economic progress enabled the *abeishemwe* to adapt a standard of living apparently very much removed from the traditional one. It must be recognised that the hypothesis that there are some similarities between the Revival and indigenous culture is a product of later scholarly observations. In their own perceptions, the Revivalists had little time for traditional culture. They kept their living premises in the new fashion: a square house and a lawn. In matters of dress they despised skin garments and the traditional ornaments. In diet, they maintained a liberal outlook, and enriched it by adding chicken, eggs,

mutton, pork, white ants which were taboo in Ankole traditional society, the Bahima also adding vegetable food from which they were prohibited by their custom. At first the brethren were ridiculed for their new eating habits but as the health authorities started strongly recommending these foods for a balanced diet, the brethren recovered their reputation and were seen by their non-brethren neighbours as people who were knowledgeable in modern living, a view which was a compliment to their social status.

This change in outlook minimised the differences between the lifestyle of the Bairu and Bahima *abeishemwe,* and helped to narrow the inherited economic differential between them. The Bairu *abeishemwe* were able to acquire and own productive cattle. This acquisition elicited a novel response from the Bahima. Before the Revival, any Bairu who tried to acquire and own productive cattle had met stiff resistance from the Bahima, but this was now no longer the case. The Bahima Revivalists welcomed the idea of their Bairu *abeishemwe* owning cattle. They were willing to extend cattle loans to these Bairu on the same terms as they would to their fellow Bahima. Indeed, many of the Bairu *abeishemwe* owed their first cattle to their Bahima *abeishemwe*.[102] As the Revival gained a wide acceptance in Ankole, the Bahima's belief in their exclusive monopoly of cattle also weakened to such an extent that many Bairu, when they acqiured cattle, now felt less threatened by their Bahima neighbours. It is reckoned that by the Second World War the Bairu owned as many cattle as did the Bahima in the western part of Ankole.[103]

To sum up, the impact of the Revival on the Bairu-Bahima relations was considerable. The Revival brought many changes in individual Bahima and Bairu lives, changes which could not tolerate the traditional ethnic relations between the

two. A dramatic personal experience of conversion and a claim to having the knowledge of the saving power of Jesus united the Bairu and Bahima *abeishemwe* into a community which explicitly claimed to have transcended the traditional ethnic boundaries: habits of eating and association, intermarriage, and religious rituals and ceremonies. Its demand for open confession provided a means of confronting those members who were tempted to revert to the traditional norms. The Revival created a close fellowship between the Bairu and Bahima *abeishemwe* and a perception of each other hitherto unknown in the history of Ankole. These positive changes which the Revival initiated in Bairu-Bahima relations, although they affected mainly the members in the movement, had far-reaching implications, as the practice and belief of the Revival became the accepted norm for moral life in the Anglican Church in Ankole.

Nonetheless, however instrumental the Revival was in changing the Bairu-Bahima relations, it was by nature apolitical, and it did not subscribe to, nor support any of the subsequent political movements for socio-political equality among the Bairu and the Bahima. It transformed ethnic attitudes and relations within the boundaries of its own fellowship, and it did not itself aim at making a structural transformation of the inter-relationship of the two groups.

Notes - Chapter Four

1. K. Ward, 'Obedient Rebels: the relationship between the early Balokole and the Church of Uganda: the Mukono crisis'. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol.19, no.3, 1989, p.194.

2. *Ibid.*, p.195.

3. The CMS Uganda Mission Report, 1921, CMSA.

4. J.J. Willis, 'The Policy of the Uganda Mission', 4 July 1912, CMSA.

5. Minutes for the Synod of the Church of Uganda, 8-10 July 1913, CMSA.

6. Minutes of the Synod of the Church of Uganda, 8-10 July 1913, CMSA.

7. Minutes of the Synod of the Church of Uganda, 22-28 January 1921, CMSA.

8. The CMS Uganda Mission annual report for 1921, CMSA.

9. Hughes Hallet, *Annual Report of the CMS for the year 1936-37*, p.71, CMSA.

10. Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, tells of this zeal.

11. Interview: Bishop K. Shalita; see also H.H. Osborn, *Fire in the Hills* (Crowborough 1991), p.25.

12. Ward, '"Tukutendereza Yesu" the Balokore Revival in Uganda', in Z. Nthamburi (ed), *From Mission to Church: a handbook of Christianity in East Africa* (Nairobi 1991), p.114.

13. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p.89.

14. F.B. Welbourn, 'The Uganda Church and other Christian movements', in T. Tuma and P. Mutibwa, *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, p.128. An Irish woman and a nurse by profession, Mary Ensor had joined the Uganda mission as a medical staff at Mengo hospital in 1915. She resigned from the hospital and joined the diocesan staff at Namirembe in 1920. She became increasingly critical of her fellow missionaries, contending that they should hand over more of the leadership of the church to Africans, that they were giving a poor example of sacrificial living to the converts, and that they were accepting low spiritual standards from them. In 1928 she resigned from the CMS and formed her own church, the Mengo Gospel Church. (F.B. Welbourn, *ibid.*)

15. B. Stanley, 'The East African Revival: African initiative within a European tradition', in *Churchman*, vol.92, no.1, 1978, p.7.

16. *Ibid.*, pp.6-20.

17. Ward, 'Tukutendereza Yesu', p.113. See also C. Robins, 'Tukutendereza: A study of social change and sectarian withdrawan in the Balokole Revival of Uganda', PhD Thesis, Columbia University, 1975, pp.185-206; and C. Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa: a church history of Tanzania* (Nairobi 1986), p.121.

18. J. Church, *Quest for the Highest: an autobiographical account of the East African Revival* (Exeter 1981).

19. *Ibid.*, p.121.

20. Interview: B. Itima, E. Kituna, E. Mugimba.

21. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p.121.

22. *Ibid.*, p.121.

23. Blasio Kigozi to Joe Church, 7 January 1936; quoted in Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p.122.

24. Mugimba was one of the Balokole students expelled from Bishop Tucker College, Mukono, in 1941; and he became a strong leader of the Revival in Ankole.

25. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p.127.

26. *Ibid.*, p.127.

27. Eliazer Mugimba, 'Omugasho gw'Engiri y'Okujunwa omu Bahima', typescript 1972, Ruharo Cathedral.

28. Clarke annual letter, 30 June 1936, CMSA G3 AL, 1935-39, CI-CZ.

29. A.C. Pain (headmaster, Mbarara High School) to Chairman, Board of Governors, Mbarara High School, 28 May 1942, Mbarara High School.

30. P. Tinka, 'Uganda's first Anglican Archbishop' (BD Dissertation), 1987; see also Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p.140.

31. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p.165. By "we", Church means the Balokole brethren.

32. *Ibid.*, p.120.

33. Interview: K. Bakamwanga, E. Rwankurukumbi.

34. Interview: E. Kakudidi.

35. Clarke, letter to Bishop C. Stuart, 2 December 1946, Mbarara Cathedral.

36. Ward, 'Obedient rebels', 1989, p.206.

37. *Ibid.*, p.207.

38. Interview: E. Kakudidi, E. Mugimba. See also Ward, 'Tukutendereza Yesu', p.125.

39. Interview: E. Mugimba, E. Mutegaya, and Timiseo Rujagata.

40. Ward, 'Tukutendera Yesu', pp.121-2.

41. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p.183.

42. Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, pp.196-7.

43. Words of the Uganda Mission Secretary to one of the missionaries, quoted in Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p.89.

44. Taylor, 'The Ugandan Church Today', in *IRM*, XLVI, April 1957, p.136.

45. Robins, 'Tukutendereza', p.205.

46. Stanley, 'The East African Revival', p.13.

47. Interview: Bishop K. Shalita, E. Mugimba, and the Rev. Canon B. Itima.

48. Some of the early *abajunwa* such as T. Rujagata, and E. Mutegaya, were put into prison for some weeks in 1942 for they used to disrupt church services at Ruharo.

49. Interview: E. Mutegaya, J. Kahigiriza.

50. 'Bweranyangi and Mbarara Boarding Girls' School: summary of the school history of 1912-62', typescript, 1962.

51. Ward, 'Obedient rebels', pp.216-17.

52. Kakudidi went back to Nyabushozi as a layreader, Mugimba and Kagumire went to Nsika and Bweranyangi respectively also to work as layreaders.

53. The Rev. E. Sabiti to J. Church, 13 November 1942, quoted in Robins, 'Tukutendereza', p.164.

54. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p.144.

55. Interview: E. Mugimba, Bishop Shalita.

56. *CMS Historical Records 1954-1955*, p.199, CMSA.

57. Ankole Rural Deanery Minute Book, 1944, Ruharo Cathedral; also interview: Canon E. Kituna, Canon E. Muhoozi.

58. Stenning, 'Salvation in Ankole', in M. Forbes and G. Dieterlen (eds), *African Systems of Thought* (London 1965), p.274.

59. Interview: E. Mugimba, E. Katukura, M. Rwabutomize; see also Ward, 'Tukutendera Yesu', 1991, p.125.

60. *Ibid.*; p.125.

61. Clarke, Mbarara, 30 June 1939, G3 AL, CI-CZ CMSA.

62. Interview: Bishop K. Shalita.

63. Church, *Quest for the Highest*, p.135.

64. *Ibid.*, p.135.

65. I. Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda* (Manchester 1977), p.211.

66. Interview: E. Mugimba, A. Katebaka, K. Nyaishaija.

67. E. Mugimba, 'Omugasho gw'Engiri y'Okujunwa omu Bahima'.

68. Interview: the Rev. Canon I. Kituna, K. Nyaishaija, and N. Bishaka.

69. Members of the revival would not approve of comparing Revival with the traditional beliefs and practices.

70. The *Banyankore* often talk to their neighbours and friends about each other and care about what their neighbours think and talk about them.

71. Interview: the Rev. Canon Blasio Itima. Itima worked as a catechist at Ruroma Kashari in the 1940s.

72. *CMS Historical Record*, 1945-46, p.84, CMSA.

73. Interview: E. Mugimba, K. Shalita.

74. See also Robins, 'Conversion, life crises, and stability among women in the East African Revival', in B. Jules-Rosette (ed), *The New Religions of Africa* (New Jersey 1979), p.194; see also B. Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba: church and community in Tanzania* (London 1980), p.123.

75. A. Stanley-Smith, 'Road to Revival', typescript 1951, p.110.

76. Mugimba, 'Omugasho gw'Engiri y'Okujunwa omu Bahima'.

77. Interview: the Rev. Canon E. Kituna, K. Nyaishaija.

78. Interview: the Rev. Canon E. Kituna, K. Nyaishaija, E. Rwakanuma, A. Katebaka.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*

84. Stenning, 'Salvation in Ankole', pp.274-5.

85. Kasenene, 'African traditional religion in Ankole' in *Occasional Research Papers*, 2, 1970, Makerere University, p.42.

86. Interview: E. Mugimba, N. Bishaka, E. Kakudidi.

87. Stenning, 'Salvation in Ankole', p.273.

88. Elam, *The Social and Sexual Roles of the Hima Women*, pp.3-5.

89. Stenning, 'Salvation in Ankole', p.274.

90. Interview: A. Katebaka, Y. Katukura, E. Muhoozi.

91. *Ibid.*

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Ibid.*

94. Interview: J. Kabakyenga.

95. E. Mugimba, 'Omugasho gw'Engiri y'Okujunwa omu Bahima'. See also Stenning, 'Salvation in Ankole', p.274.

96. Most of my oral informants, both from the brethren and non-brethren were agreed on this issue.

97. Most of my oral informants, both from the brethren and non-brethren, were agreed on this issue.

98. G. Nshemerirwe, 'The Balokore movement in Ankole', *Dini na Mila*, 1967, vol.2, no.5, p.2.

99. M. Winter, 'The Balokole and the Protestant ethic', in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 14, 1, 1983, p.662.

100. Mwambusya, 'Colonialism and the development of peripheral capitalism: a case study of Ankole, South Western Uganda', p.30.

101. Kagango sub-county, 'Parish chiefs' file, Livestock and Development Returns, 1965', Kagango.

102. Interview: A. Katebaka, K. Nyeishaija, E. Mugimba.

103. J. Muwonge, 'Population growth and the enclosure movement in Ankole, Uganda', in *East African Journal of Rural Development*, 11, 1-2, 1978, p.170.

CHAPTER FIVE

ETHNIC PROTESTS AND REACTIONS, 1945-61

The period between 1945 and 1961 acted as a cataclysmic challenge to the traditional ethnic attitudes between the Bairu and Bahima. Immense political and economic changes occurred, which in turn affected these attitudes and became an added force to the Christian influence. There were ethnic protests, reactions, alliances and counter alliances, all of which sought to re-adjust the newly emerging Bairu-Bahima relations to a level acceptable to the two groups. This chapter will examine these protests and reactions, assessing the particular role of Anglican Christianity.

5.1 The Bairu Protest against Bahima Domination - the Kumanyana Movement

The Anglican Church played an important role in the Kumanyana movement, being both visibly and invisibly involved in it. Visibly - in so far as the people who initiated and led the movement were direct products of the church. They had been educated in the mission and church schools, and were also practising Christians and active participants in the life and work of the church. Invisibly the church provided security to the Kumanyana by letting them use her premises for their meetings.

5.1.1 The Beginnings of the Movement

The Kumanyana Movement was an embryonic political association of Bairu protest against Bahima socio-political domination in Ankole.[1] True to its name,

'kumanyana', which literally means 'to know one another', it sought to mobilise the Bairu and instil into them a sense of self-identity and unity. It also sought to engage them in intelligent political manoeuvring through which they could make their way to high influential positions of leadership.[2] Its ultimate aim was to bring to an end the monopoly of the Bahima in Ankole's political leadership and to raise the Bairu from positions of subordination and ridicule in Ankole's socio-political structure.

The movement emerged in the 1940s from the informal meetings which a group of Bairu Protestant professionals who lived at and around Mbarara used to hold on a weekly basis to share their deliberations about their work and to have a meal together.[3] Gradually, more and more Bairu started turning up for these meetings and, among other things, they started talking about the injustices which they were suffering at the hands of the Bahima.[4] It must be noted that these Bairu professionals in Mbarara operated in a Bahima-dominated milieu. Traditionally, Mbarara was a predominantly Bahima area, the seat of the Bahima administration.

However, it was not until the close of the 1940s that those meetings issued in a movement of Bairu political protest against Bahima domination which came to be known as Kumanyana. Events during that decade had brought about a number of changes in Ankole's top political leadership. In 1944, the *Omugabe* Sulumani Kahaya the second died, and was succeeded by his first-cousin, Rutahaaba, who became the *Omugabe* Gasyonga the second.[5]

In the same year, Mbaguta who had been *Enganzi* and had retired in 1937 but had continued to influence political events in Ankole, also died. There in 1946, Kamugungunu, who had become the *Enganzi* after Mbaguta, retired. The office was passed on to another old Muhima chief, Ernesti Katungi. At this time Katungi was

an elderly man who had been in the Kingdom's service for thirty-seven years. He could not cope with the changes. Two years later, he, too, retired.[6] In short, by the end of the 1940s all the important Bahima chiefs who had signed the Ankole agreement in 1901, or had become chiefs immediately thereafter, were either dead or had retired from the Kingdom's service. The Bahima still expected to fill all the important offices in Ankole. Thus by 1946, all the old *saza* (county) chiefs had been replaced by young men with a school education but only one out of the ten county chiefs was Omwiru: all the rest were Bahima. These county chiefs were:

(i) Keigo of Sheema, Yerimiya Mugyenyi (Muhima)
[Keigo was the title for the *saza* chief of Sheema.
Similarly the titles below belong to the *saza* chiefs of the respective counties]
(ii) Mukwenda of Rwampala, Chrisystom Cook (Muhima)
(iii) Katambara of Kashari, Ernesti Mugooha (Muhima)
(iv) Muhima of Nyabushozi, Keizironi Mworozi (Muhima)
(v) Kangawo of Buhweju, Daudi Ndibarema (Muhima)
(vi) Sekibobo of Ibanda, Yonasani Mpira (Muhima)
(vii) Kaswiju of Kajara, Christopher Kafureeka (Muhima)
(viii) Mugyema of Isingiro, Yobu Ntungwerisho (Muhima)
(ix) Pokino of Igara, Z.C.K. Mungonya (Omwiru)[7]

Having a *Mwiru* in the county cabinet was indeed a significant step in the political advance of the Bairu. It signalled a breach of Bahima domination. It also showed that mission education was the Bairu's road to high social status and political leadership, because everyone knew that, more than anything else, Mungonya owed his appointment to his schooling. Mungonya was the second *Munyankore* to graduate at Makerere, Uganda's highest institution of learning in 1936. He worked as an administrative assistant in the District Commissioner's office of Ankole for three years, and in 1940 he was appointed the county chief of Igara.[8]

Traditionally, the appointment of a *Mwiru* to the county chiefs' cabinet would have been received by the Bairu with much gratitude as something more than they

deserved. It was, however, no longer so in the 1940s, when a good number of Bairu had obtained an education as good as, or even better than that of the Bahima. For example, by 1945 there were three Bairu who had graduated at Makerere, that is Mungonya (1936), Nganwa (1938) and Katiiti (1942), as against one Muhima, Sabiti (1926). Understandably, the Bairu strongly resented the traditional Bahima expectation of leadership. They made petitions to the District Commissioner at Mbarara to come to their rescue.[9] In response the Commissioner constrained the *Omugabe's* administration to appoint Z.C.K. Mungonya to the office of the *Enganzi* after Katungi in 1948. The appointment of Mungonya to this office was a revolutionary move in the social-political development of Ankole. No *Mwiru* person had ever before held that office in the Kingdom of Ankole's administration, because all Mungonya's predecessors were Bahima. It is clear that the church played a significant role in this development. It is true that Mungonya's appointment was prompted by the British administration in accordance with its shift in policy towards its colonial territories.

It is well known that from a concern to minimise expenditure on their colonies, and to reduce friction with the conquered indigenous peoples, the British used indirect rule in the administration of their empire. In this rule a British governor, representing the British crown and answerable to the British parliament, had overall charge of the colony but the colonial policy at the local level was implemented by the indigenous rulers under the supervision of the the British District officers.[10] In Ankole indirect rule depended on Bahima chiefs as local agents acting as intermediaries between the British District Officer and the people. Indirect rule was invariably opposed to the introduction in local administration of any local official whom people were not used to obeying.[11] For this reason, the colonial authority had reaffirmed and supported

the Bahima leadership which it found in control in Ankole while excluding the Bairu.

However, after World War II, the British colonial office embarked on constitutional reforms in its colonies which compromised the ideals of indirect rule.[12] The reforms began with the confidential dispatch of 25 February, 1947 from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech-Jones, to the British governors of African colonies. In this despatch, Jones emphasised the need for representative and efficient local governments. He also expressed the necessity for those governments to cater for the growing class of educated men in the colonies, and to command the respect and support of the mass of the people.[13] In Uganda the reforms led to the Local Government Ordinance of 1949, which defined the composition of district governments and made provisions for the expansion of district councils.[14] It was against this background that the British administration in Ankole insisted on Mungonya's appointment.

In so doing, however, the British administration was crowning the church's efforts. Mungonya had been educated and nurtured by the Anglican Church. It was because of his educational background and character that he was found worthy to be Ankole's premier. By traditional standards, if any *Mwiru* were to be promoted to that office, it could not have been Mungonya or any other of his clan. He belonged to the *Basingo* clan. In Ankole tradition the ancestors of this clan were considered to have been the cause of the existence of death. Its members were associated with bad omens. Their work at the king's enclosure was to carry out the most dreaded menial tasks, and they could not even be considered for the lowest leadership post of *Obukungu* (tribute collector) to which the Bairu were sometimes appointed.[15] Similarly, it is fair to say that it was also because of his educational background and

link with the church that Mungonya was able to accept the office of *enganzi* which placed him in a position of supervising the Bahima chiefs, his traditional superiors. Undoubtedly, he had learnt about the colonial principles of administration through the church and its schools, and was able to look his traditional superiors in the eye without feeling inferior.

The Bahima saw Mungonya's appointment as a dangerous harbinger of change. Believing that it would open the top political leadership of the kingdom to the Bairu and hence threaten their long held position of privilege, they tried to resist and frustrate it. Appealing to the Ankole traditions of *Bangyendanwa*, they protested that the drums were unhappy about the appointment of Mungonya. Because of his status as *Omwiru,* and, even worse, an *Omwiru* from the *Basingo* clan, the drums would not accept being attended by him. However, the District Commissioner dismissed that argument by reminding them that the royal drums had their attendants and the *enganzi* did not need to attend to them. Some Bahima students, orchestrated by some of the Bahima elders, also wrote a letter to the *Omugabe* complaining about this appointment of Omwiru to the office of enganzi as an infringement of their political rights.[16]

The Bairu naturally welcomed these developments. They saw the appointment of one of their number to Ankole's premiership as a sure step to the promotion of other capable Bairu. As has been shown, in the Ankole monarchy the office of the *Enganzi* was the second highest office, second only to the *Omugabe*. In practice the enganzi became even more powerful during the colonial government. The colonial administration now considered the *Enganzi* to be the chief administrator of the kingdom, and the king to be a monarchical figure-head. Many Bairu hoped that Mungonya, as the chief administrator of the kingdom, would help to rectify the

unfortunate situation of the Bahima's domination. Specifically, they wanted him to eliminate, or at least to reduce, the predominance of the Bahima in the kingdom's top leadership. The Bairu were consequently very upset by the Bahima's attempts to thwart Mungonya's appointment. As they understood it, Mungonya's rejection was a denial of their social and political rights by the Bahima. In response, the Bairu elite who lived around Mbarara began to use their weekly meetings to organise other secret meetings to discuss how to counteract the Bahima opposition to their political and social advance and how to end their status of subordination to the Bahima in the Ankole socio-political structure. Thus arose the Kumanyana Movement.[17]

The Anglican Church was involved with the Kumanyana movement from the beginning. It was Bairu educated in Anglican mission schools, and not the Roman Catholic Bairu, who pioneered these meetings of protest which issued in the Kumanyana movement. In the lead was Kesi Nganwa, who was then the Native Anglican Church Schools' supervisor. The other pioneers were E. Kamujanduzi, a vicar of St. James Church Ruharo; Erica Kyoya, a *Gombolola* (sub-county) chief of Mbarara town, and Costantine Katiiti, a school master at Mbarara High School.[18] The fact that it was the Protestant, not the Roman Catholic Bairu who led the protest is perhaps due to their different educational back-grounds. It has been observed that Roman Catholic education tended to be geared to training for priesthood and was less concerned with political issues and leadership, whereas on the other hand the Protestant educational emphasis was on character training and leadership.[19] Furthermore, as has already been pointed out the Catholics had largely left the Bahima to the Anglicans, hardly any Catholics attended Anglican schools or vice versa until the 1960s. Thus it was the Protestant Bairu who had had the experience of sharing

the same church and schools with the Bahima where the two groups met as equals. Such experience could easily enable them to challenge the Bahima's double standards, relating to the Bairu as fellow-members at school and in the church and regarding them as subordinates in the political arena.

Furthermore, even in the *Kumanyana's* strategies, the Anglican Church was a unifying factor. The movement devised two major strategies in its campaign. First, it sought to unite all the Bairu; and, secondly to increase their representation in the political leadership. In both of these the church's role was very significant. To these strategies we will now turn.

5.1.2 The Protestant Bairu and the Roman Catholic Political Alliance

The first strategy of the Kumanyana movement, according to its members, was to unite the Bairu.[20] The handful of Protestant Bairu who were pioneers of the movement felt that the unity of all the Bairu was necessary in order for them to succeed in their struggle for social and political equality. It must be observed that at that time, as a group, the Bairu were divided on a number of fronts. Traditionally, as a subservient group, their unity was feeble, because they did not have a traditional symbol that could unite them. In addition, the Bairu became prey to the divisions that had been brought about by the new religions of Christianity and Islam. Not only were they divided between Christianity and Islam, but also between Catholicism and Protestantism. The Bahima, on the other hand, were on the whole united. Traditionally, they had the *Omugabe* and their cattle culture which throughout the colonial period remained their focus of unity. Every Muhima, whatever his status in the new Western oriented Ankole, remained loyal to the rearing of cows. Milking and water-

ing cattle and learning their names was every Muhima's responsibility.[21] Even the Bahima who took up modern types of work and lived far from their cattle kraals made sure that they visited their herds regularly and took part themselves in these important activities.[22] Neither did the new religions threaten the unity of the Bahima. Virtually all the Bahima who adopted them, took up the Anglican version of Christianity. Practically no Muhima converted to either Islam or Roman Catholicism.

The division between Roman Catholics and Protestants had created two parallel Bairu groups. Ever since the introduction of Christianity in Ankole, the relationship between the Roman Catholics and Protestants had been far from cordial. Imprisoned by their bitter memories from Buganda, and caught up in the race for more converts, the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions each sowed hatred of the other among their converts in Ankole. As a group the Bairu reaped more of this confusion and bitterness on converting to the two denominations.

In order to ensure a united force and exert maximum pressure on the Bahima, the Protestant Bairu did their best to draw the Roman Catholic elite into closer unity with themselves. In short, the aim of the Kumanyana was to draw together all the Bairu as an oppressed group with the common purpose of liberating themselves from Bahima domination. The two Bairu groups were to combine efforts and work out their emancipation. Hence the Catholic Bairu were drawn into the movement. In 1954, for example, out of the 45 members who subscribed to the movement as members, 14 were Catholics, 30 were Protestants, and one was a Muslim.[23]

Eight out of the ten counties in Ankole had at least one Catholic regular attendant to the Kumanyana meetings.[24] The two counties which did not have any Catholic representation were Kajara and Nyabushozi. The two counties were

traditionally Bahima territory and, as has been shown, the Bahima had followed their *Omugabe* into the Anglican Church when they were converted to Christianity.[25] As a result the Catholic influence was minimal and the work of the Roman Catholic mission was frustrated. For example, in Kajara the first Catholic mission was opened at Kagamba as late as 1959; whilst in Nyabushozi no Catholic mission was opened throughout the period of this study.[26]

Clearly, the majority of those in the *Kumanyana* were Protestants.[27] In part, this was because they were its founders. Another reason was that the Protestants had more educated professionals than the Catholics. However, the Movement for a long period embraced both groups. The two parties enjoyed equal status of membership and shared in the organisation of the Movement which, according to Doornbos, "was a loose assemblage of Bairu leaders, without formally designed officeholders or any other explicit framework".[28] Oral sources, however, do not fully tally with this picture.[29] Rather, they maintain that it was a well organised Movement with a defined membership and leadership structure. There was an inner circle consisting of four Protestants and three Roman Catholics who planned and directed its strategies. The Protestant members were: Nganwa, Katiiti, Muntuyera and Kamujanduzi. Bataringaya, Galubungo, and Kabeireho were the Catholic members; and Rwari was the Muslim member.[30]

The Anglican and Roman Catholic churches played a significant role in the making of this alliance between the Catholic and the Protestant Bairu. Although the two churches had divided the Bairu, paradoxically, they had also provided a new uniting framework for them. As a subject people without a visible symbol of unity, the Bairu found the newly introduced denominational Christianity a symbol of

common identity around which each group could freely rally together either as Catholics or Protestants. Consequently, the church gave a starting point to the Kumanyana movement in its search for an organisational unity among the Bairu. Instead of starting with mobilising individuals, it began with a group, that is, the Protestant Bairu. Subsequently, to increase its numbers, it brought in the Catholics as a group. It is true that later on this group-adherence of Roman Catholics or Protestants weakened the Movement, as will be discussed in the next section, but by that time it had achieved a great many of its original objectives.

Furthermore, the churches increasingly aided communication within the movement. The members began to pass on news about the meetings and activities in their churches. One of the former members of the movement, Edward Karukiiko, tells how he used to move from one church to another on Sundays delivering information about the movement to any of the recognised members at the churches, and requesting them to pass the same information to their fellow members after the church services.[31] Eventually the movement's meetings started being held in some churches, particularly the Anglican ones in Sheema, Rwampara, and Igara. Explaining why the movement started to use the churches for their meetings, Kahingiriza said that it was because the leaders of the movement were also the most prominent Christians in those churches.[32]

5.1.3 Bairu Representation in Political Leadership

Having drawn the Bairu who mattered into a co-ordinated group, the members of the Kumanyana movement started working towards an increased representation of Bairu in political leadership. They devised both direct and indirect methods, and in both

the church was a great asset to the movement. Thus, as Kumanyana strove to gain political appointments for its members, and as it tried to accelerate the building of more schools in areas with predominantly Bairu populations in order to increase the supply of capable Bairu for the various offices in government and in the church, the church was the base for the Movement's activities.

i) The Campaign for more schools

Kumanyana activated the building of more schools in those Bairu dominated areas where previously there had been none.[33] Nganwa's position as Ankole Schools' Supervisor for the Native Anglican Schools, and at the same time the leader of Kumanyana, helped to promote Bairu education in Ankole. Between 1948 and 1954, when Nganwa was the Schools' Supervisor, and when Kumanyana was at its peak, eleven N.A.C. schools became government-aided. These were Kabwohe and Kitagata for girls, and Masheruka, Bugongi, Ryakasinga, Rubare, Kyamate, Kikagate, Rutoma, Mitoma and Ndekye for boys. The Roman Catholics also had seven schools and the Muslims secured one that became government grant aided. The Roman Catholic schools for boys were Kiziba, Nyakitoko, Kakindo, Rushaje, Kitaabi and Nyakishojwa, and Butare for girls. The Muslim one was Kabwohe Muslim School for boys.[34]

Furthermore, during his term of office as headmaster of Kabwohe (1944-48), Nganwa worked tirelessly to modernize and upgrade the school. Although any headmaster, whether involved in the promotion of Bairu education or not, would have worked to improve the conditions of the school, what Nganwa accomplished in his four-year term of office was exceptional. He had six classrooms in permanent

materials put up. At that time it was a Primary Four school, and in the following year it was upgraded to a Primary Six school (full Primary).[35] Similarly, when Bishop Stuart visited the school in September 1947, Nganwa in his headmaster's speech requested the bishop to upgrade the school to a High School.[36] His target, it has been alleged, was to make Kabwohe the Bairu equivalent of Mbarara High school.[37]

The fact that Kumanyana was a movement largely for the professional Bairu makes it less surprising that it emphasised the importance of education in its strategies. Aware of the role of education in their own lives, the Bairu elite emphasised that the future of the Bairu depended upon education. The central committee of Kumanyana received contributions from its members and administered a bursary fund for the clever Bairu children whose parents were too poor to afford the school fees. A good number of Bairu students from the 1940s and the 1950s benefited from this fund, and climbed to the top of the educational ladder. The most prominent examples are G. Karoga and Emmanuel Kamujanduzi, both of whom were enabled through the bursary fund to pursue their education to graduate level.[38]

It is clear that without the church the impact of the movement upon education would have been slower than it was. It must be remembered that the British administration did not provide grant-aid to private schools other than those established by religious bodies, that is the churches and the Muslims. Therefore the movement mobilised parents to fulfil the conditions that the British administration laid down before granting its aid. These conditions were defined. Every school had to have enough children for classes of forty in each stream, presentable school buildings with adequate numbers of classrooms and staff quarters, and an accessible road to the place

where the school was located.[39] Then the N.A.C or the Roman Catholic Church, depending on which of the two commanded the allegiance of the majority of the parents who had erected the school, would take over the ownership, and in due course present it for the government grant.

ii) Political Offices

Securing political offices for the Bairu and breaking the political monopoly and dominance of the Bahima was the driving motive of the Kumanyana movement. In all its meetings the movement had its eyes fixed on this political aim. The first step was to achieve Bairu representation from the *Miruka* (the lowest administrative unit) level to the Kingdom level. In implementing the post-war British policy in Uganda, the colonial administration issued the *1949 African Local Government Ordinance*, which directed that councils be the base of local government and that they be formed from *Miruka* level to the district level. In Ankole the local councils came to be known as *Enkiiko z'Engabo*, which literally means people's councils; and the Kingdom council was called *Eishengyero* (a place for exchanging views).[40] The introduction of councils in Ankole in 1949 was successfully carried out, in spite of the fact that they were a new experience to many. In his 1949 annual report Ankole's District Commissioner wrote:

> The Councils are established from Miruka to the Ankole Eishengyero. They are still paddling in the shallows, and except in those places where there are educated and progressive chiefs who 'carry' them as part of their administrative duties, it has to be reported with regret that not much more than lip service is paid to them.[41]

During the elections to renew the councils for the second term of office in 1952 the Kumanyana worked very hard towards winning a majority in the

Eishengyero, and it achieved this objective. The Bairu returned 56 out of the 75 elected members.[49] The Kumanayana definitely found some advantage in the fact that the constitution and election of these councils were still in their infancy. Backed by the Bairu's majority in the population, it mobilised the Bairu throughout Ankole to take an active part in the voting for representatives from the local level. During the electioneering campaigns, it emphasized that the Bairu should build up their self-realisation and self-esteem. It also widened its horizons to include all the major issues which were causing the Bairu to lag behind economically and socially. It instructed the Bairu to improve their housing conditions, and to expand their cash crop gardens.

The Kumanyana drove home its message, and this was reflected in the Ankole's District Commissioner annual report of 1952. The report lamented that some of the *Banyankore* had started to use the councils to defy the authority of the chiefs:

> If the people are unwilling to carry out some of the administrative instruction given them by a chief, they are now able to fight a very successful defying action while the resolution against it finds its way to the eishengyero.[42]

It also told of an increase in acreage cultivated for groundnuts and onions and of an extension in road communication:

> In this district also it has been possible through the medium of Miruka and Gombolola Councils to embark on a programme of village roads. These Councils decided upon the improvement of existing paths by the people's own efforts and by this means at least one hundred miles of motorable roads have come into being during the course of the year.[43]

In all its activities, the Kumanyana movement was non-violent and avoided confrontational methods. It tended to keep all its plans to its members and carry out all its activities using an underground method. Doornbos argues that this secrecy was because the Bairu knew that Bahima leadership functioned under the tutelage of the

British administration. Hence, any open challenge by the Bairu would have implicated them as being against the British administration.[44] It could have lost them their jobs in the British administration where most of them were employed. According to Doornbos, it was because of personal invested interests that the leaders of the movement kept to peaceful means in their protest.[45]

It can, however, also be argued that the leaders of the movement knew that confrontational methods would lead them into deportation, which was a remarkable characteristic and a chief feature of British rule in Uganda.[46] Prince Igumira had fallen victim to this policy at the beginning of the British rule in Ankole, and in Buganda, where opposition seemed rife, a lot of people had been deported.[47] In fact, in 1949, the year when Kumanyana started, the British Governor of Uganda banned the activities of another party of protest, the Bataka's Party in Buganda, and deported its leader I.K. Musazi.[48] The leaders of Kumanyana were certainly aware of what was taking place in Buganda.

The influence of the church was of no small significance in this policy of non-violence. The pioneers and leaders of the movement were men with strong Christian convictions. The majority were teachers in the mission schools for whom Christian character, attitudes and convictions were a precondition for getting into, and maintaining their jobs.[49] K.K. Nganwa, C.B. Katiiti, and E. Muntuyera, who were the masterminds in the foundation and development of the movement are cases in point. The teachers' Christian commitment was severely scrutinised by the mission and church authorities. Schools shared the same compounds with the churches. The teachers' houses were normally built behind the pastors' or the catechists' houses. It was the role of the mission and church representatives to monitor the morality and

Christian practice of the school teachers. They kept a general supervisory role over the schools of their denomination in areas of their jurisdiction to ensure that Christian belief and practice were maintained therein. The teachers and the children were obliged to attend both morning and evening church services.[50]

In fact, it can be safely said that the three above mentioned Kumanyana teachers were men of exemplary Christian character. First, their services had been approved by the church, and as a result, they had been promoted to high positions of leadership. Nganwa had been promoted to headmaster in 1944, and to Supervisor of the Native Anglican Schools in 1948. Katiiti was promoted to be Assistant Headmaster of Mbarara High School in 1949. This was the highest post which a Ugandan teacher could hold at a high school during the missionary period in Uganda, as at that time, only European missionaries were made heads of the high schools.[51] Muntuyera was made a headmaster of Kitunga Primary School in 1947.[52] Secondly, the three men commanded high Christian regard in their home churches. Ngamwa and Katiiti were active members of the pastorate at Kabwohe. They were members of the church parish council and represented the parish on the Ankole deanery council in the 1940s through the 1950s.[53] Nganwa donated a pulpit to Kabwohe parish church in 1950. Muntuyera was a central figure in the church in Kajara as well. He donated a piece of land to the church at Kitunga in 1951. He was an active member of the parish council, and its representative at the deanery council (1950-7).[54]

Having secured the majority in the *eishengyero,* Kumanyana used its position there to attain political positions of leadership for its members in the administration of the kingdom. In 1955, when Mungonya resigned the post of Enganzi to become the Minister of Land Tenure under the colonial administration, the *eishengyero* elected

as the next *enganzi* Kesi Nganwa, who was the leader of Kumanyana.[55] The *eishengyero* did so against the wish of the Omugabe and the rest of the Bahima who would have preferred David Cook, another Muhima.[56] Through the *Eishengyero* and the office of Enganzi, Kumanyana progressively increased the Bairu representation in administration of the Ankole Kingdom.[57]

Furthermore, when the Uganda Protectorate allowed its districts to have representatives on the Legislative Council in 1954, the Bairu had two representatives, C.B. Katiiti, and Z.C.K. Mungonya; whereas the Bahima sent only one representative, E.S. Kapa. Additionally, as has already been indicated, in 1955 Z.C.K. Mungonya became a minister in the colonial administration. Although his appointment had nothing to do with the Kumanyana Movement, it boosted the Bairu's morale; and even after Mungonya's promotion, he kept his links with the movement. It is worthy of note that it was during his term of office as minister that the British administration adjusted its land policy and granted freedom of individual peasant land ownership of some of the Crown Land.[58]

In 1901 the British administration had alienated the Banyankore peasants of their land. It had portioned out Ankole's area of 6784 square miles; 238 square miles were divided among the Bahima chiefs as a reward for collaboration, 166 square miles were given to the *Omugabe* for official use in his Kingdom, and 6400 square miles were declared Crown Land and reserved for government use. The peasants continued to live on the land but did not own it, and those who lived on private estates paid an annual land rent of Shs.4/-[59] Although there is no evidence to suggest that the new land policy was pioneered by Mungonya, the fact that it was implemented during his term of office, and that this had been one of the demands of the

Kumanyana of which he was a member, suggests the possibility that his influence cannot be ruled out. Indeed, when the policy was being implemented in Ankole the Bahima saw it as his plan to grant land ownership to the Bairu, and the land which was portioned out into peasant free-hold was nicknamed *mailo za Mungonya* (Mungonya's miles).[60]

In addition, many Bairu were appointed chiefs at the sub-county levels. Between 1954 and 1961 the following Bairu rose to the office of sub-county chief: Mutembeya, Ntudubeire, Kyoya, Mirama, Laki, Barahukwa, Kakye, Katwaza, and Kabeireho. By 1962, they were 62% of the total of chiefs at this level.[61] However, the Bahima still kept their monopoly at the county level where they were, according to Stenning, 62.5% in 1962.[62]

In this struggle for Bairu political leadership, the church aided the Kumanyana movement a great deal. As has already been pointed out, news of the activities of the movement continued to be spread through the churches. Similarly, various churches continued to provide venues for the local Kumanyana meetings. In addition, when the movement began mobilising the people for the election of the councils, it usually did so after church services. According to L. Tibekinga, word was passed to the members to stay behind after the service. When the rest of the 'unwanted' members (women and children) of the congregation had left, the members would convene their meeting.[63]

Above all the church provided moral justification for the movement. Among the Movement's regular attenders were three renowned Bairu clergy, Eliakimu Kamujanduzi, Laban Tibekinga, and Andereya Rushengye. Although their attendance was not on behalf of the church officially, it reflected the church presence. They were senior pastors, they commanded great respect and they had the largest following in

the whole of Ankole.[64] They encouraged their lay-readers and catechists to take an active part in the Movement. According to Canon Muhoozi, their sermons were full of messages about self-esteem elucidated by riddles and proverbs. They emphasised that accepting the gospel of Christ made people wise and able to work towards improving their conditions of living *(okumanya bukuru)*. Muhoozi remembers that *okumanya bukuru* was always a catch phrase in Tibekinga's sermons.[65]

E. Kamujanduzi is known to have been the most outspoken of the three about the Bairu's status. His sermons are remembered to have been explicitly a call upon the Bairu to forsake their down trodden social status and sometimes they were also a direct denunciation of the oppressive Bahima system. He sometimes referred to the Bahima as sleeping dogs (*embwa zingwejegyere*). His sermons were so challenging that the Bahima nicknamed him the *naabi* (prophet) of the Bairu.[66] The sermon he preached at Ruharo in 1955 on the subject of Bairu-Bahima relations at the thanksgiving for Kesi Nganwa's appointment to the office of *Enganzi* appears to have been most memorable. The theme was the living hope. Having marvelled on what the power of God in Christ can achieve, he assured his hearers that all things are possible with those who persistently keep their hope in God. He illustrated his point using an image drawn from motoring. While he was driving to the church that morning, so he narrated, he was obstructed by another motorist who was driving a lorry in front of him and raising a lot of dust. His car being small, he could not see his way properly. But he concentrated on steering, slowed down, closed the windows, and drove steadily on until he reached a junction where the lorry took a different direction. Then he resumed his normal speed, and relaxed. The illustration was understood as being a warning to the Bahima that they were frustrating the

Bairu's development, and a call to the Bairu to take the necessary precautions but struggle on in a peaceful way.[67]

This spiritual element characterised the movement throughout its years of activity. It became fashionable to use religious quotations and statements to justify one's views. For example in an article that appeared in the *Busesire* newspaper of 2 November 1955, after Kumanyana had placed its candidate, K.K. Nganwa, in the office of the *Enganzi,* Mungonya called upon the people to thank God for bringing development and light to the people of Ankole. He reminded the people that all authority comes from God; and he said that what is acceptable to the people must be whatever is acceptable to God.[68] Similarly, after the installation of Nganwa as the Enganzi of Ankole, there was a thanksgiving service at the Anglican deanery church at Ruharo. After the service Nganwa visited the Roman Catholic Bishop at Nyamitanga.[69]

5.2 The Bahima Reaction to the Bairu Protest - the Kamwe Kamwe Group

Understandably, the Bairu efforts through the Kumanyana Movement to end Bahima domination did not please the Bahima, who were determined not to let go their long-held privileges and positions. As in the Bairu protest, however, the church played a significant role in the formation and direction of these reactions and resistance. It tempered the fear, anger and bitterness which lay at their root. The wealthy, chiefly and learned class of the Bahima formed a reactionary group parallel to the Kumanyana movement. Known as Kamwe Kamwe, it pursued low-key resistance - through influencing public opinion, uniting the Bahima, and seeking political alliances with

some of the Bairu groups - in trying to maintain Bahima pre-eminence.

The Kamwe Kamwe (literally 'one by one') group was exclusively Bahima. In origin, composition and aims, the group was totally opposed to the proposed socio-political equality between the Bairu and the Bahima. In short, it was a reactionary unifying group for the Bahima in the face of the Bairu demand for socio-political equality.[70]

Apparently, the beginnings of this group were informal. The Bahima clique which had gathered to protest against the appointment of Z.C.K. Mungonya, mobilised the other influential Bahima, particularly the Bahima *gombolola* (sub-county), *saza* (county) chiefs and other highly placed Bahima professionals against Mungonya's administration. Throughout the time Mungonya was *enganzi* of Ankole, they continued to present their petitions to the *Omugabe* against the Bairu's exceeding what they regarded as their proper socio-political limits. These limits ranged from major issues such as the Bairu being refused equal pay in the affairs of the kingdom and access to top posts as chiefs, to peripheral matters such as a *Mwiru* not being supposed to greet a *Muhima*. The Bahima also demanded that they should be allowed to retain the office of the *enganzi*; and complained of being insulted by the Bairu's Kumanyana movement, because it was turning the populace against them.[71]

In addition, this group started accusing Mungonya of discriminating against the Bahima in his administrative policies. For example, in 1949 the District Commissioner of Ankole reported that "at the latter end of the year, a small and unimportant group of young Bahima began a campaign of letter writing in opposition to the alleged anti-Muhima attitude of the Enganzi".[72] There is, however, no corroborating evidence for this accusation that Mungonya pursued any anti-Bahima

policies during his premiership. On the contrary, H.F. Morris, who was one of Mungonya's contemporaries as District Commissioner of Ankole in 1953, dismissed the allegation as false, saying that Mungonya tried his best to keep one foot in the Bahima camp and the other in the Bairu camp. "Mungonya kept his Bairu instincts," Morris stated, "without alienating himself from the Bahima". Morris credited him with being an organised impartial administrator.[73] Among the British administrators, Mungonya earned himself a great deal of respect, as one official report explicitly stated in 1949:

> This Engazi won golden opinions during his term of office as an official member of the Legislative Council for Western Province.[74]

H.F. Morris also added that this respect was due to Mungonya's impartial attitudes.[75] In fact, Mungonya's unbiased attitudes towards both the Bairu and the Bahima damaged his image among the radical Bairu of the Kumanyana Movement who wanted to pursue a non-compromising policy in claiming equal rights with the Bahima. They often accused Mungonya of being half-hearted towards the Bairu struggle, and of lingering in the Bahima camp.[76]

Nevertheless, these stories that Mungonya was against the Bahima continued to circulate, and apparently, in Bahima circles, were believed. In the circumstances, whether these stories were true or false was beside the point. What the Bahima wanted was the office of the *Enganzi* back in their hands. Some of the important Bahima chiefs felt it a humiliation to be led by a *Mwiru* Enganzi. They began to hold meetings to discuss how to manoeuvre and plan for a Muhima Enganzi, and how to counteract the activities and plans of the Kumanyana movement. It was these meetings that gave birth to the Kamwe Kamwe group. They realised that they would be more effective if they organised themselves into a body which could mobilise the

Bahima. Kafureka and Nyaishaija date the formal founding of the group to January/February 1950.[77]

The main aim of this group, according to some of its founders, was to unite the Bahima so that they would be able to counteract what the group considered to be the aggressive attempts of the Bairu to grab political offices from the Bahima.[78] Apparently, the name of the group, Kamwe Kamwe, was an expression of this aim. It derived from one of the Kinyankore proverbs, Kamwe Kamwe *nigwo Muganda* which literally means 'one by one makes a bundle'. In plain terms therefore, the proverb means to increase gradually in number. The name can fairly be regarded as a precise definition of what the group stood for. In their minority status the Bahima intended to continue to secure and protect political offices so that they could maintain their socio-political lead in Ankole.

How was this objective to be achieved? Kamwe Kamwe mobilised the Bahima to send their children to school. A.C. Pain recalls how Yoweri Buningwire, who was the mastermind of Kamwe Kamwe group, used to send some Bahima boys from Mbarara High School to the predominantly Bahima counties of Kashari, Isingiro, Ibanda, Nyabushozi, and Kajara to meet with Bahima parents and convince them that they ought to send their children to school.[79] According to Bamunoba, Kamwe Kamwe also tried to procure and keep high political offices in the kingdom for the Bahima, using the office of *Omugabe* which was theirs traditionally. In this process they also tried to frustrate the social and political advance of the Bairu and to undo the plans of the *Kumanyana* movement.[80]

Furthermore, it can fairly be said that the group united the Bahima and enabled them to negotiate political leadership with the Bairu. Between 1950 and 1958, which

has been reckoned as a critical period in Ankole's socio-political development,[81] the Kamwe Kamwe group influenced a number of political developments in Ankole. In 1955, when Mungonya resigned from the office of *Enganzi*, the Kamwe Kamwe group put up serious opposition to the Kumanyana movement in the choice of the next *enganzi*. It is important to point out that by then some changes had been effected in the method of selecting Ankole's *enganzi*. He was no longer appointed by the Omugabe administration pending the confirmation of the British District Commissioner in Ankole. Instead he was to be elected by the Ankole *eishengyero* (district council). This change had been made in 1952 when the British administration permitted the district councils to elect their own officers in the local administration of the district. In the process of choosing the new *enganzi*, the Kumanyana campaigned for a *Mwiru enganzi*, and put forward its leader, Kesi Nganwa, to the *eishengyero* as the candidate for the post. At the same time, the Kamwe Kamwe group vigorously worked to restore the office to the Bahima. They presented David Cook, a staunch member of their group, who then was the *saza* chief of Rwampara, to the *eishengyero* to oppose Nganwa.[82] The *eishengyero*, however, elected Ngamwa the *enganzi* of Ankole, and turned down Cook, by 44 votes to 38.[83]

Although the Kamwe Kamwe group lost in the contest, it never gave up its political manoeuvres. Up to 1961, it shared the number of Ankole representatives on the Legislative Council equally with the Kumanyana. In 1955, when Ankole sent the first representatives to the Legislative Council, they were C.B. Katiiti and E.S. Kapa. The former was a member of the Kumanyana movement, and the latter of the Kamwe Kamwe group.[84] The 1958 re-election of the representatives did not affect the ethnic composition of the representatives. Katiiti was returned and Kapa dropped but he was

replaced by another Muhima candidate, William Rwetsiba.[85]

In addition to active political mobilisation, Kamwe Kamwe engaged in social action. It is known that the group occasionally sent some of its members to hold meetings with the pastoral Bahima in the remote regions of north-western Ankole where most of them were settled.[86] At these meetings various issues pertaining to pastoral life were discussed. According to Edward Kakudidi, who spent all his years of active work evangelising in that part of Ankole, there were two areas of concern which were emphasised at these meetings. The first concern was the question of pastoral Bahima ceasing to wander from place to place and taking to a more settled life. They were advised and exhorted to have personal land demarcations, so that each adult male could claim personal land ownership. On this land they would establish relatively permanent settlements and reasonably strong and lasting shelters. The second one was the use of modern veterinary services in the rearing of their cattle, to fight against ticks, and to improve the quality of their herds.[87]

Although the church's contribution to the Kamwe Kamwe group was not as direct as it was to the *Kumanyana* movement, nonetheless the group was not devoid of the support of the church. It has been pointed out that Canon Yoweri Buningwire, one of the most outstanding and highly placed early church leaders, was a strong supporter of the group. He was among its staunchest members and directors, and his house at Ruharo, Mbarara, regularly housed the group meetings.[88]

Similarly, it is of no little significance that the members who founded the group were products of the mission schools. According to Kafureka, one of the founder members of the group, the other leaders and most active members of this group were David Cook, Festo Muhinda, Nasani Katarishwera, Yosamu Kirindi,

Samusoni Rwabushongo, Erinesti Katungi, Bonny Byanyima, Nasanairi Kakwitsi, John Komukoco, Grace Ibingira, William Rwetsiba. All of these, except Kakwitsi, had attended Mbarara High School.[89]

There is reason to suspect that the change which was effected in the development and direction of the group in the 1950s was due to this church influence. By the close of the 1950s, from being a reactionary and resistance group against the socio-political advance of the Bairu, the Kamwe Kamwe group had become a peaceful political entity. It realised that it could not turn the clock back. It recognised the Bairu as another contending political force with whom the Bahima had to share power and authority. For example, as will be discussed in the next section, it started to form political alliances with some of the Bairu groups. It therefore had redefined the Bahima's position in Ankole. The Bahima peacefully accepted that they were no longer the masters of Ankole, even though they had not worked out what their position in the new Ankole would be.

5.3 Adjusting to the Changes in Bahima-Bairu Relations

Amidst the changing Bairu-Bahima relations both the ecclesiastical and political spheres began adjusting themselves to the reality of providing an equal participating role to the two groups. Bahima-Bairu relations began to influence the matters of the church directly as they were conceived by the Bairu and Bahima themselves. Such an influence has been seen as evidence of failure on the part of the church "to reduce the problem of the tribal strata" in Ankole.[90] However, the Anglican Church's recognition that some changes were taking place in Bahima-Bairu relations was not

a signal of failure but an indication that she had opened herself up to enable the two groups to work out the implications of such a change in their church membership. This adjustment, as it were, also pushed the church further onto centre-stage in the political arena in Ankole. In the same way, the formation of political parties in the preparation of Ankole for Uganda's national political independence of 1962 was also influenced by the changing Bairu-Bahima relations.

5.3.1 Adjustment in the Anglican Church

Both Bairu protests and Bahima reactions made the church increasingly aware of ethnic considerations within her own life. It was noted that although the church had contributed to an awareness of ethnic equality as being desirable in Ankole society, her organisation and administration were more inclined to the Bahima. According to L. Tibekinga and Y. Kamujanduzi, this inclination was very subtle.[91] The Anglican Church accommodated both the Bairu and Bahima. She welcomed both of them in her ministry. In point of fact, as has already been pointed out, very few Bahima in Ankole joined the church ministry; it was the Bairu who formed the majority of pastors, lay readers and catechists. However, the central administration of the church was in the hands of two Bahima clergymen, Buningwire and Babiti. The two formed part of the conical top of the hierarchy of the church's administration in Ankole; they were second in command to the European CMS missionaries.

Throughout the missionary period it was Buningwire and Sabiti who controlled most of the church's activities and plans in Ankole. The two pastors belonged to the Bahima ruling clan of the *Bahinda*. In fact, if they had not entered the ministry, they would have become important Bahima chiefs. Buningwire himself was married to the

sister of the Queen of Omugabe Kahaya, and owned a royal estate at Katebe in Kashari county. Like the Bahima chiefs, he received annual tribute.[92] Sabiti's family was also in the Omugabe's ruling circles. His own brother, Erinesti Katungi, having served as a saza chief for about thirty years, became Ankole's enganzi (1946-48).[93] Sabiti himself received offers of chieftainships when he completed his education at Budo in the 1920s, but refused them, preferring to be a schoolmaster.[94] Even when Ankole was sub-divided into two deaneries of East and West in 1950, and Ruharo and Bweranyangi became the headquarters, it was still these two pastors who were promoted to be the rural deans.

In practice, Buningwire and Sabiti were the two pastors in control of the church's pastoral fieldwork throughout the missionary period. Although the CMS missionary in charge of the whole of Ankole was the effective head of the church in Ankole, Buningwire and Sabiti wielded a great deal of power in their areas of jurisdiction. In theory, their word was not final in deciding who earned promotion or went for further training from the areas over which they were to charge, but their recommendations were, in fact, binding. According to Eliphaz Muhoozi, the European missionaries would not consider any such case unless it had been approved by Buningwire or Sabiti for they assumed that it was the two who best knew the mind and character of their fellow *Banyankore*.[95] Actually, it seems that the European missionaries throughout Uganda were content to leave ecclesiastical promotions in the hands of some of the local leaders, as J.V. Taylor wrote in 1949:

> A man who is working, for example, as a catechist or lay reader will be unlikely to venture into even the mildest experiments in his work or worship, when he knows that only by preserving his record untarnished by any suspicion of divergence from the stock pattern of clerical behaviour can be win the approval of his rural dean upon whom his further advancement in the church depends.[96]

Holding as they did the keys for the promotion of church workers and for the selection of those who were to go in for further training, the status of Buningwire and Sabiti was very high in the church in Ankole. In terms of power they sat next to the CMS missionaries who "perched at the top of the pyramidal structure and kept watch on the catechists by instituting a regular communication system between the centre ... and the village catechumenates".[97] As elsewhere in Uganda, on the whole, the Anglican Church in Ankole failed to attract educated people into her full-time work, and church workers were recruited at the minimum level of education. For instance, in 1930 A. Clarke, the CMS missionary rural dean of Ankole, commented on the striking illiteracy and scarcity of religious knowledge among his church teachers and catechists. He wrote:

> Here in Ankole the standard adopted locally as necessary for those who desire to be teachers, has been appallingly low. The great majority of the catechists and school masters can scarcely read or write with ease and their knowledge of religious subjects is on a par with this.[98]

This failure was due to the Anglican Church's appallingly poor system of remuneration for her workers. She therefore had to rely on a slow and trying process of in-service training for the upgrading of her workers. Most of her workers kept on oscillating between periods of work and periods of training until some of them obtained a rudimentary knowledge of the Christian faith and work, and were deemed ready for the ordained ministry. Describing this process, E.S. Daniell, the first CMS missionary Warden of Bishop Tucker College, wrote in 1918:

> Through this institution our African catechist gradually passes, first taking a year's course to qualify him for the position of senior catechist. Then away he goes back to his work for a year or two as an evangelist and teacher. Once again he returns to the college to prepare for being admitted into the office of lay reader, and then again he resumes his practical work. In each successive grade his responsibility increases, and his sphere widens. Finally, we receive him for a two

years' course to read for holy orders.[99]

Because of this ongoing process of training in the church, church workers in Ankole who were ambitious for promotion or further education in the church made extra efforts to be in the good books of Buningwire and Sabiti. They had to make their work pleasing to them, and sometimes to take them gifts of food and animals. Their task, first and foremost, was to ensure that their records with Buningwire and Sabiti were clean.

Why did the missionaries in Ankole promote Buningwire and Sabiti, the only Bahima pastors, to lead a church which was predominantly Bairu both in leadership and following? Buningwire was the first fruit of the CMS in Ankole and entered the ordained ministry when the emphasis of the CMS was largely on converting the Bahima. When other *Banyankore* clergymen were being transferred from one station to the other to pioneer new pastorates, he was the only one whom the missionaries allowed to stay at one station, Ruharo, which housed the chair of the Omugabe throughout his ministry. In a way, as someone who was closely related to the royal circles and as the most senior clergyman, Buningwire linked the church with the Kingdom. Sabiti, although being a *Muhima* obscured his position, was the most highly qualified *Munyankore* clergyman, having been the first *Munyankore* to graduate from Makerere. He was one of the few English-speaking *Bunyankore* pastors. He was well experienced in church work. Ordained in 1933, he served as a curate at Mbarara (1933-38), as a parish pastor at Kinoni (1939-50), and as a rural dean at Bweranyangi (1951-7). In addition, Sabiti was a key figure in the spread of the Revival Movement; and if spiritual commitment was judged by membership in the Revival Movement, he was committed.[100]

For whatever reason Buningwire and Sabiti had been promoted, as Bahima their occupation and control of the highest echelons of the church hierarchy and administration did not please the politically conscious Bairu. To them it seemed yet another example of the domination of the Bairu by the Bahima minority. As they saw it, the situation in the administration of the church was not so very different from that of the Kingdom where the important chieftainships were being taken up by the Bahima, and the Bairu were left to occupy the insignificant ones at the bottom, for the purposes of collecting tribute. According to Shalita, what displeased the Bairu most was the fact that Buningwire and Sabiti were controlling education within the church, an element that the Bairu had recognised to be a useful tool in finding the way out of their socio-politically disadvantaged position.[101] It was alleged that Buningwire and Sabiti were more favourably disposed to the Bahima than to the Bairu when it came to education, and were not enthusiastic about sending the Bairu for further educational upgrading.[102]

In the attempt to rid the Anglican Church of her attitude to the Bahima, and to make room for the changing Bahima-Bairu relations, ethnic considerations impinged on the internal administration and decisions of the church. Two significant events will be discussed to illustrate the point, the first one being the appointment of the acting rural dean of Bweranyangi deanery in 1955, and the second the selection of the assistant bishop of Ankole-Kigezi in 1957.

5.3.1 (a) The appointment of the Acting Rural Dean of Bweranyangi Deanery, 1955

In 1955 Erica Sabiti was selected by the diocese of Uganda to go to England and

continental Europe on a pastoral tour. As has already been pointed out, Sabiti was then the rural dean of Bweranyangi deanery which consisted of the western half of Ankole. The tour was to begin in May 1955 and end in January 1956, lasting seven months altogether.

In preparation for his absence, he nominated Canon Bawtree to be the caretaker of the deanery during the time that he would be away. Bawtree was his boss, the CMS missionary archdeacon in charge of the Western Province of Uganda, who resided at Mbarara. Perhaps he should have made the nomination, but Bishop Leslie Brown of Uganda had asked Sabiti to do it since it was a temporary arrangement.[103] Having consulted Bawtree and acquired his consent, Sabiti proceeded to get an official seal to his selection. He wrote to Bishop Brown requesting him to formalise his nomination.[104] In Sabiti's view there was no suitable pastor from his deanery to act for him while he would be abroad.

Sabiti's assertion, however, is difficult to validate. At that time, his rural deanery consisted of the three parishes of Bweranyangi, Kabwohe and Mitooma, and it seems that the pastors in charge of these parishes were competent men. The pastor of Mitoma was Canon Semei Kashenya. The first Mwiru ordinand in Ankole in 1926, Kashenya was by then a man of vast experience in the church. In fact he had been the pioneer pastor of all the parishes in the deanery. He started Bweranyangi parish in 1926, and Kabwohe in 1933, and also Mitooma parish in 1951.[105] Labani Tibekinga was the pastor in charge of Kabwohe parish. A graduate of Bishop Tucker College, and ordained in 1948, he had been seven years in the ordained ministry. In 1953, at the laying of the foundation stone for the parish church in burnt brick at Kabwohe, which Tibekinga was having built, Bishop Brown had praised and described

Tibekinga as "a brilliant, energetic and industrious young man".[106] In fact, in 1957 Tibekinga was appointed rural dean of Sheema and Buhweju.[107] The pastor of Bweranyangi was Yokana Banyenzaki. Of the same generation and training in the church as Tibekinga, he also seemed an able man. He was to succeed Sabiti as rural dean of Bweranyangi when Sabiti was appointed Bishop of Rwenzori in June 1960.[108]

At any rate, when information of Sabiti's arrangement leaked out, the majority of Christians did not approve of his plan. A strongly worded letter was written from the deanery to Bishop Brown requesting him to overrule Sabiti's nomination. The letter argued sharply against Sabiti's view that there was no suitable pastor to act on his behalf during his absence. It also insisted that the acting rural dean should be appointed from among the pastors in the deanery. One of its paragraphs, for example, explicitly stated:

> About this matter, we hear a rumour that the Rev. Erica Sabiti has given you advice to appoint Archdeacon Bawtree to act for Sabiti as Rural Dean at Bweranyangi, on the assumption that there is no suitable priest in his Rural deanery to act for him as Rural Dean during his absence. In this assumption he is wrong.[109]

None of the pastors in the rural deanery, whom the controversy surrounded, signed the letter. Rather it was done by six lay representative members of the Deanery Council: K. Kabakyenga, P. Zake, E. Baryaija, S. Kanyanda, D. Rwamishare, and D. Kagasi. However, according to two of the signatories to the letter of appeal, Rwamishare and Baryaija, the pastors were personally involved in the affair, even in the drafting of the letter. They withheld the signatures to protect their positions, to avoid providing tangible evidence of disobedience to the elders in the church.[110] At any rate the conclusion of the letter to Bishop Brown alludes to the

pastors' involvement, as it declared:

> We are telling you the truth, that if Canon Bawtree, or any other priest from outside is appointed Acting Rural Dean, it will create a strike among both Christians as well as pastors of our Rural Deanery.[111]

In the view of the signatories of the letter and the pastors, Sabiti's failure to nominate one of the pastors in his rural deanery was loaded with ethnic overtones. They thought that Sabiti was acting out of Bahima arrogance, that he did not want a Mwiru pastor to act in his place as was bound to happen if he agreed to the appointment of a local clergyman from his deanery. That is why they considered Sabiti's proposal a humiliation - a point they emphasised in one of the paragraphs of their letter:

> Sir, we who sit in church councils as representatives of Christians do not support Sabiti's advice to you, because it degrades us. He should have consulted us.[112]

They suspected that behind Sabiti's nomination of Canon Bawtree lay a hidden agenda to leave the authority and responsibilities of the rural deanery office in the hands of Sabiti's wife, Geraldine. Having Bawtree tens of miles away from the rural deanery, and with the busy office of an archdeacon, would leave Sabiti's wife ample opportunity to control the activities and funds of the rural deanery.[113] Bishop Brown told me that he considered that incident a local matter, and left Bawtree and Sabiti to sort it out.[114] The letter was discussed in the Deanery Council at which Bawtree was present, and the council resolved that there be *okugarukana n'okusasirana* (reconciliation and forgiveness) in the deanery.[115]

Clearly, judging from this incident, a readjustment was being made in the church to accommodate the changing Bairu-Bahima relations. The Bairu Christians expected the principles of ethnic equality and justice to prevail in the church, and they were ready to stand up even against their church leaders if they tried to breach these

principles in the church. This theme is carried forward in the next section.

5.3.1 (b) The appointment of the Assistant Bishop of Ankole/Kigezi

In 1957 the Diocese of Uganda was sub-divided into four sub-dioceses of Namirembe, Rwenzori, West Buganda and Ankole/Kigezi. Each sub-diocese was asked to nominate two names for the office of assistant bishop to the Bishop of Uganda. In Ankole/Kigezi sub-diocese the nomination of candidates for assistant bishop became a point of contention between the CMS missionaries and the Christians and pastors of the sub-diocese. Canon Bawtree and the other missionaries wanted Erica Sabiti to be nominated for the post. A strong member of the Revival, Sabiti was both educationally highly qualified and experienced.

However, the majority of the Christian representatives and pastors of the Ankole/Kigezi sub-diocese council turned his nomination down. Although nothing was written in the minutes about the reason why Sabiti was rejected, according to some of the members who were in that meeting, the reason was clearly ethnic.[116] According to Itima and Muhoozi, the council generally felt that Sabiti, being a *Muhima*, was not a balanced candidate to push for socio-political ethnic equality between the non-Bahima and the Bahima in the sub-diocese.[117] Most of the council members also were aware of the ethnic clashes that Sabiti had experienced at Bweranyangi, and doubted his ability to provide sufficient pastoral care and guidance in the circumstances of rapid socio-political change and in ethnic relationships.

Instead, the council nominated Kosiya Shalita. Shalita was a child of two worlds. Although born and brought up in Ankole, his origin was in Rwanda. His parents came to Ankole from Rwanda in search of better grazing fields just before his

birth in 1903. Shalita went to Mbarara High School (1918-20) and to Budo High School (1921-23). From Budo he went to teach at Kigezi High School (1924-25), after which, as has been shown, he went and pioneered a mission station at Gahini in Rwanda - his country of origin. After he was ordained in 1933, he went for further pioneer work in Burundi and he opened a mission station at Matana in 1935. Until 1957, when Shalita was called to be the Assistant Bishop of Ankole/Kigezi, his active church ministry alternated between Rwanda and Burundi.[118]

In Shalita the council saw a person aligned neither with the Bairu nor with the Bahima, as Shalita did not belong to either. Additionally perhaps, the choice of Shalita was also favoured by the composition of the sub-diocese, consisting of the two districts of Ankole and Kigezi. Shalita did not belong to either of the two, but he had experience of both, having been born and brought up in Ankole and worked in Kigezi for a number of years. So he was also a 'bridge' candidate, linking Ankole and Kigezi.

The missionaries agreed to drop their nomination of Sabiti and accepted the council's nominee, Shalita. Shalita was consecrated the assistant bishop of Ankole/Kigezi in 1957, and three years later, in 1961, became the diocesan bishop.

5.3.2 Political Adjustment to the Changing Face of Bahima-Bairu Relations

Just as the internal administration and decision making in the church began to adjust to the changing Bairu-Bahima relations, so did the political activities. Between 1958 and 1961 political events in Ankole - in the election of district representatives to the Legislative Council and in the introduction and running of political parties - reflected the changes taking place in Bairu-Bahima relations. From recognising the Bahima as

the only born leaders of Ankole during the early colonial period, to recognising leadership qualities among some of the Bairu after the Second World War, colonialism had entered a final phase in Ankole which demanded the recognition that leadership qualities had no ethnic bias.

5.3.2 (a) The election of Ankole representatives to the Legislative Council, 1958

As a first step in the country's major constitutional changes in preparation for national political independence, the election of Ankole members to Legco for 1958 was part of the Protectorate's arrangement for increasing the representation of Ugandans at the national level.[119] Ankole had been allowed two representatives, and their election became a point of contention between the Bairu and Bahima with the result that the latter readily joined the Roman Catholics, and destroyed the Bairu unity which had been forged by the Kumanyana movement. The dividing line was no longer Bahima versus Bairu, neither did it become Roman Catholic versus Protestant as some studies have tended to portray it.[120] The major point of consideration was which route promised access to equal ethnic political participation. Both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches were seen as possible routes and they were dragged to the centre of political activity in Ankole.

From 1956 onwards the Roman Catholic / Protestant alliance within Kumanyana began to weaken, and by 1958 it had grown fragile. The point of contention was how both parties were to share equitably in the political leadership. Kumanyana had secured some political offices from the Bahima; the crux of the matter was how these offices would be shared between the Roman Catholic and the

Protestant Bairu. On the one hand, the Roman Catholics felt that the Protestants had cheated them, that the Protestants were taking the lion's share of the political offices; the Protestants on the other hand, since they were more numerous in Kumanyana, felt it just to have a larger share, of the spoils than the Roman Catholics.

Neither side was willing to concede anything to the other, and the end result was a dissolution of their alliance. The 1958 election of two representatives to the Legislative Council offered to Ankole by the Protectorate Government sparked off this dissolution. The Protectorate Government insisted that all the districts and kingdoms in the country, except Karamoja, had to fill their allotted places on the Legislative Council with elected members either from the District or Kingdom Councils or by balloting the adult population in the district or kingdom as a whole.[121]

The *Eishengyero* of Ankole chose the former method. By a majority of 51 to 35 members it ruled that the elections of the legislative members for Ankole by the *Eishengyero* was the "best method for Ankole".[122] However, the Roman Catholic members of the *Eishengyero* were not satisfied with that method. They alleged that the discussion and decision about the mode of election had not been free and fair. They claimed that the whole idea of the *Eishengyero* electing Ankole's Legislative Council representatives was a strategy on the Protestants' part to turn out representatives of their own denomination. These allegations are very difficult to substantiate. Looking at the minutes of the *Eishengyero* that passed the motion, it seems that the motion was sufficiently debated. It took an hour and twenty minutes before it was put to the vote.[123] From the minutes, it appears that the driving motive behind the choice of the *Eishengyero* was economic; the *Eishengyero* considered that to have the two representatives elected by the whole adult population in the kingdom

was *okushisha esente n'obwire* (not worth the money and the effort).[124] It is true, as the Roman Catholics suspected, that the *Eishengyero* method would favour the Protestants since it was they that formed the majority of the *Eishengyero*. However, it is not clear that this anticipated outcome of the *Eishengyero* method was the reason for its choice.

At any rate, it was doubtless the fear of this outcome that scared the Roman Catholics and made them oppose the *Eishengyero* method. The Roman Catholics knew that they were more numerous than the Protestants in Ankole, and clearly thought that the use of a direct method of election, whereby all the adults in the district voted for the representatives, would return Roman Catholic representatives.

The Roman Catholic members of the *Eishengyero* rejected the indirect method of election, and appealed against the motion accepting it. They insisted that the general voting of all the adults in the district was "the best and most democratic method for Ankole".[125] During one of the *Eishengyero* sessions, on 30 October 1957, Basil Bataringaya, the leader of the Roman Catholic group and the Roman Catholic link-person with the Kumanyana Movement in the *Eishengyero*, called upon his fellow members to walk out of the *Eishengyero*, as an "indication of their entire disagreement and opposition to the *Eishengyero* method".[126] Some seven fairly elderly Bahima Protestant members in the *Eishengyero* joined them, and also walked out. These were:

i) Canon Yoweri Buningwire - Omugabe's nominee and now retired from his church work.

ii) Ernesti Katungi - ex-Enganzi of Ankole, Omugabe's nominee.

iii) B. Byanyima.

iv) K.I. Muhinda - Omugabe's nominee.

v) N. Katarishwera.

vi) S. Rwabushoko.

vii) N. Kakwisti.[127]

This group consisted of the fairly elderly Bahima who could not stand listening to some of the radical Protestant Bairu such as N. Banauka who were voicing the need to abolish the *Obugabe* (the Ankole monarchy). They found it much easier to relate to the Roman Catholic Bairu who were not as radical in their political demands as the Protestant Bairu. The Roman Catholics in Ankole, and in Uganda in general, were not as left-wing as the Protestants.

However, some other Bahima members of the *Eishengyero*, particularly the younger politicians, stayed with the Protestant Bairu; among these were:

i) W.W. Rewetiba - one of the two Ankole representatives to the Legislative Council.

ii) G. Ibingira - a young lawyer.

iii) G.D. Kamomo.[128]

This group of Bahima related their political activity in Ankole to that of the national level. Kamomo told me that they were attracted to the Uganda National Congress (UNC) which was predominantly Protestant and not Roman Catholic, and therefore they had to keep good relations with the Protestants in Ankole.[129]

It is therefore conceivable that the Bahima entered these alliances with the Bairu as a political manoeuvre, but this possibility should not conceal the novelty of the visible and free social and political interaction between the Bairu and the Bahima within the alliances. Even if the alliances were entered purely for tactical and political reasons, the fact that both groups were willing to do so shows a revised

attitude towards each other. It must be remembered that such alliances and counter alliances would not have been possible even a decade earlier.

The chairman of the *Eishengyero* heeded the plea of the Roman Catholic members. As a result, on 16 January 1958 the *Eishengyero* rediscussed the issue. The Roman Catholic members' view was defeated by 50 to 38, and the *Eishengyero* method was confirmed.[130] Thereafter, in the next session the *Eishengyero* elected C.B. Katiiti and W.W. Rwestiba as Ankole's representatives to the Legislative Council for 1958. Katiiti and Rwestiba were both Protestants; the former was a *Mwiru* and the latter a *Muhima*.[131]

Clearly, the political alliance between the Bairu and Bahima in the *Eishengyero* was evidence of their changing relations. The issue of ethnic inequality was drawing to a close. The Bairu were politically in control of the affairs of the kingdom and the Bahima had begun to accept them as another formidable political force in Ankole. Both the Bairu and Bahima were ready to share in Ankole's political leadership, but the bewildering question was how that sharing was to take place. This picture is consistent with the memories of most of the eye witnesses to those events. According to James Kahigiriza, Kezironi Buziro, Yowasi Makaru, Christopher Kafureka and Kosia Nyaishaija, by the end of the 1950s most of the Bairu who had the highest level of Western education enjoyed a social position equal to the middle ranks of the Bahima, and these Bahima had started to accept power-sharing with them.[132]

Furthermore, the religious factor was increasingly becoming a mark of political identity in Ankole. According to Kahigiriza and Buringuriza, the Roman Catholic members in the *Eishengyero* now identified themselves more strongly as a religious group than before.[133] They formed a body known as the 'Ankole Catholic Council'.

Its aim was defined as: "The organisation of some of the prominent Catholics of all professions and trades, whose duty it is to promote and safeguard Catholic interests in loyal co-operation with the church and government".[134] The council was to plan and discuss Catholic religious and political matters. It used the postal box of the Roman Catholic mission at Nyamitanga.[135] This Roman Catholic inclination to pursue political activities according to church affiliation also encouraged the Protestants to tighten their grip on their church for political purposes. In any case, it must be remembered that, for some time from the time of the formation of the Kumanyana movement, the Protestants had also used the church as their base of unity for political action. Now, however, the political circumstances were more compelling than before. The questions of when the country's national independence would be achieved and which political party would usher it in, were looming high in the people's minds. It was not possible for the church to keep out of these concerns.

5.3.2 (b) The political parties

The changing relations between Bairu and Bahima had a considerable impact on the allegiances to the political parties in Ankole between 1958 and 1961. All the political parties that operated in Ankole in preparation for the national political independence were imported from other parts of Uganda, particularly Buganda. The first ones to be introduced in Ankole were the Uganda National Congress (UNC) and the Democratic Party (DP) in 1958. The Uganda Peoples' Union (UPU) was the third and last political party to come and gain a following in Ankole. It was introduced a year later, but on 9 March 1960 it merged with the UNC to form the Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC).[136] So only two political parties, the DP and the UPC, dominated

Ankole's political arena during the preparation for independence. From the time of their being first established in Buganda, both the DP and the UPC used Christian denominational affiliation to attract membership. The DP looked to the Catholic Church, and the UPC to the Protestant Church for support.[137]

In Ankole the DP and the UPC used the same approach in soliciting support and establishing themselves. This strategy drew both Roman Catholic and Protestant, churches much closer to political activity in Ankole but the political split among the Bahima could not allow the DP and UPC to be identified with the Christian denominations.

The Anglican Church became the main factor in the introduction and consolidation of the UPC in Ankole. The party first gained its support among the Protestant professionals. According to *Busesire*, the first party leaders were teachers: Katiiti, Mirama, Tabaro and Nganwa.[138] These men were also notables in the church, and they enlisted support from the church in mobilising for party membership.

A special effort to maximise the link between the party and the Anglican Church in Ankole started in Sheema county, central Ankole. The majority of people in Sheema were reckoned to be Protestant. On 12 April 1960, Katiiti, Tabaro and Nganwa convened a party mobilisation meeting at Kabwohe Junior Secondary School. They invited all the Protestant pastors, lay readers, catechists and Protestant *Gombolola* and *Miruka* chiefs, teachers and important traders and farmers.[139] At the meeting, Katiiti, Nganwa and Tabaro told the members that political parties and elections were the road to responsibility and leadership in the independent Uganda. Katiiti warned the members that the DP was mobilising the Roman Catholics and winning them to that party. They warned that unless the Protestants did likewise for

UPC, the DP would win the elections and put a Roman Catholic government in power.[140]

In response to Katiiti's challenge the members resolved that everyone at the meeting should go and tell their church members that the UPC was their party and that they should join and support it. It was also observed that for the UPC to outdo the DP in numbers in Ankole, there had to be more Protestant than Roman Catholic Christians. According to the 1959 census the Roman Catholics outnumbered the Protestants in Ankole, being 170,000 to 60,000 respectively.[141] The proffered solution to this was that the Protestant Church should try hard to convert more people from traditional African religious beliefs and practices, who were shown in the census as totalling 468,000.[142] Suggestions as to how this would be done were also made. First, the rural dean and the pastors of Sheema were requested to adjust the period of catechism, making it much shorter so that it would become much easier for the people to come to baptism classes. Secondly, the Protestant chiefs were asked to give a hand to the church in the evangelistic campaigns.[143]

By June 1960 this conversion plan was already in operation in the Anglican parishes in Sheema. Working systematically from one village to the other in each parish, the pastor, lay readers, catechists and the *Miruka* chiefs went to the 'pagan families' soliciting them to be converted to the Protestant Church. Their target was first the heads of families, who were registered for the baptism classes, and told when the classes were to begin. The more zealous parish chiefs sometimes exerted a little compulsion on the heads of families who refused to respond readily, either starving them economically or denying them common justice. They would not give such heads of families a letter of clearance to allow them to take their livestock to public markets

for sale, or intervene on their behalf in case of any dispute.[144]

In Sheema, a lot of people started flocking to the church for baptism. For example, during the month of September 1960 Labani Tibekinga baptised 896 people at Kabwohe.[145] The system popularised by Katiiti, Tabaro, Tibekinga and Kamujanduzi soon spread to the whole of Ankole. Numbers increased in every church. In Rubare-Kajara, for instance, F. Begumisa, the pastor of Rubare, baptised 769 in the month of January 1961, and at the same time S. Katikuzi performed over one thousand baptisms in Ibanda.[146] The numerical increase in the church boosted the UPC membership. Joining the church indicated to the individual that he would also be a member of the UPC because it was the party of most of his fellow churchmen.

The official policy of the Protestant Church in Uganda, that she could only participate in national general political issues but not involve herself in party politics, had little effect in Ankole. Nearly all the members of the church in Ankole, both clergy and lay, were involved in supporting the UPC. The fact that their political engagements were not officially on behalf of the church but private work and business, did not make much difference to the church's public political image.

All the same, however politically involved the Anglican church was, she was never synonymous with the UPC. Some Bahima joined the UPC and some of them, such as Grace Ibingira and William Rwetsiba, even became very influential in the party. The two contested the constituencies of Nyabushozi and Kajara-Rubare on the ticket of the UPC in the 1960 national elections.[147] However, many Bahima did not belong to the UPC but were members of the DP.[148] Just as the UPC capitalised on the Anglican Church to attract its membership, the DP used the Roman Catholic

church to create its following. Nonetheless, many Bahima joined the DP. They found the Roman Catholic Bairu less radical than the Protestant Bairu in their attitudes to the political and economic implications of the changes in Bairu-Bahima relations. For example, the Protestant Bairu voiced the need to dispossess some of the Bahima chiefs of the land grants which they had acquired during the early colonial period.[149]

5.4 The Changing Face of Bairu-Bahima Relations: an Evaluation

Anglican Christianity was one of the most significant factors in changing the state of Bairu-Bahima relations. Between the world wars it had the effect of decreasing the social distance between the two groups and of creating a class of Bairu professionals who were becoming uneasy with the Bahima domination. Using the opportunities of the changing political and economic scene after the Second World War, these professionals protested against the Bahima overrule and their condescending attitudes to the Bairu. Using non-violent methods, the protest was concerned to establish a new dignity for the Bairu and secure their inclusion in the kingdom's political system. With little resistance the Bahima gave in to the Bairu's demands. In 1955 the Bairu were elected in large numbers to the *Eishengyero* and by 1961 there were 14 Bahima and 35 Bairu officers on the establishment lists of pensionable officers and employees of Ankole kingdom.[150]

It is important to note that this change in the Bairu-Bahima relations was effected without much struggle and resistance from either party. In one of Ankole's neighbours, Rwanda, a similar change happened in the ethnic relations between the agricultural Bahutu and the pastoralist Batusti, but amidst a great deal of resistance

and bitterness.[151] Traditionally, the Batusti dominated the Bahutu, and the majority of both converted to the Roman Catholic Church. Most Batusti Roman Catholics, however, entertained their traditional ethnic superiority and did not accept social equality with their fellow Bahutu Roman Catholics.[152] After the Second World War the Roman Catholic Church spelt out its social teaching and hence branded the church as pro-Bahutu. The Batusti extended their rift with the Bahutu to include the White Fathers, who were propounding these doctrines about social equality.[153] With the support of the White Fathers the Bahutu pressed forward for equality in opposition to the Batusti who were not ready to give up their traditional social privileges, and the former asserted their rights in a bloody manner.[154] Most of the expelled Batusti found refuge in Ankole between 1959 and 1961.

According to Doornbos, the change in Ankole avoided such extremes because of the Bahima's numerical weakness.[155] However, it can equally be argued that Anglican Christianity also tempered the Bahima's resistance to a low key. First, Anglican Christianity had already allowed an opportunity for social interaction through either school or church to most of the Bairu and Bahima who later came to share political offices and authority. For example, C.B. Katiiti as assistant headmaster at Mbarara High School had interacted socially with many Bahima as students, parents or as members of the governors of the school. Similarly, K.K. Nganwa as teacher and as Schools' Supervisor would have dealt with many Bahima before he became *Enganzi*. In fact, most of the Bahima and Bairu who were members of the *Eishengyero* were products of Mbarara High School, and some knew one another from their school days.[156]

Secondly, those Bahima who felt most aggrieved at the political and social

advance of the Bairu were the fairly old, either already retired or about to retire from their offices, such as Canon Y. Buningwire and E. Katungi. Veterans of the era of indirect rule and of early Anglicanism in Ankole, they were too old to venture into a revolution and their influence was dwindling. In any case, they were able to find political refuge with the Roman Catholic Bairu whose political demands were less radical than the demands of the Protestant Bairu.

Thirdly, the rapid political and social advance of the Bairu remained within the confines of the Bahima's political system under the Bahima monarchy. The advance was not at heart anti-Bahima: its objectives were to secure for the Bairu a fair deal of the benefits of the regime, not to overthrow it.

It is clear that any direct influence by European missionaries on the transformation in Bahima-Bairu relations was minimal. But would a more direct participation on their part have produced better results? The participation of some of the Banyankore clergy tempered the degree of ethnic protests and reactions. Nonetheless, the question of direct participation by Christian leaders to exact socio-political influence in Uganda has elicited a divided response. One group has given an utterly condemnatory verdict. For example, Ibingira wrote in 1973:

> Missionary work, be it Protestant or Catholic, has in the last seventy years bestowed many blessings on the masses of Ugandan Africans. But one of its worst legacies has been the intervention of its spiritual leaders into the realm of politics.[157]

The other group, however, though certainly critical, has acknowledged the necessity of the church's direct involvement in the nation's socio-political issues. For example, P. Mutibwa acclaimed the Church of Uganda's participation in the preparations for the national elections for independence to have been of vital importance to the nation. In 1978 he wrote:

> It was of great merit that among the people and organisations who participated in this noble task was the Church of Uganda itself.[158]

Certainly in the case of Ankole, this study has shown that by keeping in touch with both the Bairu and the Bahima in their changing relations, Anglican Christianity tempered the bitterness of protest and resistance which these changes created, with the result that the changes were realised without any armed struggle or bloody revolution.

Notes - Chapter 5

1. Doornbos, *Not All the King's Men*, p.117.

2. Interview: E. Kamujanduzi.

3. The Bairu met on a rotational basis from one member to another during weekends.

4. Interview: E. Kamujanduzi, Y. Makaaru, S. Kamoomo.

5. Kamugungunu and Katate, *Abagabe B'Ankole, Ekitabe II*, p.61.

6. *Ibid.*, p.81.

7. The Omugabe's File, Mbarara archives. As to who was an *Omwiru* or an *Omuhima*, the list was interpreted by Christopher Kafureeka, who then was the *Kaswiju* of Kajara. He is now retired at his home at Mushanga, aged about 83 years.

8. Ankole Kingdom Local Administration, General File (1934-42), Mbarara Archives.

9. Interview: E. Kamujanduzi, K. Buziro - they said that several letters were written to the D.C. of Ankole, Lukyn-Williams, by a certain Kashaija from Sheema who was an interpreter at the District Court at Mbarara, but I was not able to see any of those letters.

10. L.E. Snellgrove, *Modern World History* (London 1989), p.242.

11. T.V. Sathyamurthy, *The Political Development of Uganda 1900-1986* (Aldershot 1986), p.205.

12. F. Burke, *Local Government and Politics in Uganda* (Syracuse 1964), p.38.

13. *Ibid.*, p.38.

14. Uganda Protectorate, Local Government Ordinance of 1949, Uganda National Archives, Entebbe.

15. B. Mubangizi, *Emicwe Y'ensi omu Banyankore*, p.12.

16. Doornbos, *Not All the King's Men*, p.120.

17. Interview: E. Kamujanduzi, K. Buziro, C. Kafureeka, A. Murumba.

18. Interview: E. Kamujanduzi, K. Buziro.

19. Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda* (Nairobi 1965), p.9. Welbourn wrote: "The whole tendency of Protestant education was to train for leadership. Missionaries established and administered their schools in the pattern of the English public schools... At Makerere College, seventeen years ago, it could be said by an experienced tutor that a character report of 'excellent' from a Protestant headmaster meant 'shows responsibility and initiative'; the same report from a Catholic headmaster meant 'obedient and submissive'" (pp.8-9). See also D.E. Apter, *The Political Kingdom of Uganda* (Princeton 1967), p.133; and Byabazaire, *The Contribution of the Christian Churches to the Development of Western Uganda*, 1979, p.114.

20. Interview: E. Kamujanduzi, K. Buziro, Y. Karukiiko, L. Tibekinga.

21. Interview: Dr. H.F. Morris.

22. The office of the Omugabe was abolished in 1967. Although the cattle culture is still strong among the Bahima, it has lost most of its cohesive force. Some of the Bairu have taken up cattle herding without pretending to be Bahima.

23. See a list of Roman Catholic and Protestant members in Appendix I.

24. See Appendix I.

25. The Bahima acknowledged the Anglican Church as their Church and virtually none of them went in for Roman Catholicism or for Islam.

26. Byabazaire, *The Contribution of the Christian Churches to the Development of Western Uganda*, p.47.

27. See Appendix I.

28. Doornbos, *Not All the King's Men*, p.126.

29. Interview: E. Kamujanduzi, K. Buziro, C. Kafureeka.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. Doornbos, *Not All the King's Men*, p.128.

34. Ankole Kingdom Schools Committee, Registers, 1945-1950, 1951-1958, Mbarara Archives. The Roman Catholic schools had their own Schools' Supervisor, who then was John Kabeireho (1949-1956).

35. Katebire, 'Kabwohe School through 1926 to 1981'.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Interview: C. Kafureka, E. Baryaruha, L. Tibekinga. Up to the present, Nganwa's efforts at building up Kabwohe are vivid. When Kabwohe became a high school in 1967, it was named after him.

38. Interview: Mrs. E. Rushegye, N. Bishaka, F. Beyaka.

39. Minutes for Ankole National Council for N.A.C. Schools, 4 January 1948, Ruharo Cathedral.

40. Minutes for the First Eishengyero Meeting, 2 July 1952, Mbarara Archives.

41. R.A. Malyn, District Commissioner's Report on Ankole, 1949, Mbarara Archives.

42. Eishengyero Minutes, February 1952.

43. Eishengyero Minutes, February 1952.

44. Doornbos, *Not All the King's Men*, p.126.

45. *Ibid.*, p.126.

46. See Article 25 of the Uganda Order in Council 1902, which states: "Where it is shown by evidence on oath to the satisfaction of the Commissioner, that any person is conducting himself so as to be dangerous to peace and good order to Uganda, or is endeavouring to excite enmity between the people of the Protectorate and His Majesty or is intriguing against His Majesty's power and authority in the Protectorate, the Commissioner may, if he thinks fit, by order under his command and official seal, order that person to be deported from the Protectorate to such place as the commissioner may direct"; Uganda National Archives, Entebbe.

47. Ssemakula Mulumba, Representative of the Bataka (Elders) of Buganda to the Colonial Secretary, James Griffiths, 31 August 1950.

48. Mulumba to Griffiths, 31 August 1950.

49. The Rev. H. Hodge, Principal, Nyakashura Primary Teacher Training Centre, Annual Report, December 1948, Kakoba Teachers' College.

50. A. Wandira, 'Missionary Education in Uganda Revisited', in Tuma, *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, p.104.

51. Pain, 'Mbarara High School', p.2.

52. 'Okutunguka kw'Ekanisa omuri Mpororo', typescript, Kutunga Archdeaconry.

53. N.A.C. Kabwohe Parish Council Minute Books, 1938-46, 1947-57, Kabwohe Archdeaconry.

54. 'Okutunguka kw'Ekanisa omuri Mpororo'.

55. Kasenene, 'African traditional religion and political leadership in Ankole', p.277.

56. The Protectorate Government had given the *eishengyero* the go-ahead to elect the *Engazi*.

57. The Bairu kept the office of the *Enganzi* until the abolition of the kingdom in 1967. Kesi Nganwa held it consecutively for two five-year terms from 1955 to 1961. Between 1961 and 1962 it was held by John Kabeireho, a Roman Catholic *Mwiru*, and for the rest of the period by James Kahingiriza.

58. Uganda Protectorate, *Land Tenure in Uganda* (Entebbe, 1957).

59. Kamugungunu and Katate, *Abagabe B'Ankole*, pp.74-76.

60. Interview: E. Rwankutahi, Y. Majungu.

61. Stenning, 'The Nyankole', p.173.

62. *Ibid.*, p.173.

63. Interview: L. Tibekinga, Y. Makaru, M. Kahindi.

64. Bamunoba, 'The development of the Anglican Church in West Ankole', p.106.

65. E. Muhoozi, written communication, 4 July 1990.

66. Interview: L. Tibekinga, C. Kafureka, S. Katikuzi.

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Busesire*, Native Anglican Church newspaper in Runyankore, sympathetic to the Kumanyana Movement and the Anglican Church, Ruharo Cathedral. The Roman Catholics run their own local newspaper, *Ageteraine*.

69. *Ageteraine*, of July 1956, Mbarara Diocese Archives, Nyamitanga.

70. Interview: K. Shalita, C. Kfureka, E. Kikatsi.

71. *Ibid.*

72. District Commissioner, Ankole: Annual Report of 1949, Mbarara Archives.

73. Interview: Dr. H.F. Morris.

74. Provincial Commissioner's Annual Report on Western Province, 1949, Uganda National Archives, Entebbe.

75. Interview: Dr. F.H. Morris.

76. Interview: J. Kahigiriza, C. Kafureka, N. Katarishwera.

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Ibid.*

79. Interview: A.C. Pain.

80. Bamunoba, 'The development of the Anglican Church in West Ankole', p.96.

81. Kasenene, 'Traditional religion and political leadership in Ankole', p.267.

82. Interviews: E. Muhoozi, J. Kahigiriza, K. Nyeishaija.

83. Eishengyero Minutes, 1955, Mbarara Archives.

84. Interview: J. Kanigiriza, Y. Makane.

85. Eishengyero Minutes, 1958; interviews: Y. Makaru, E. Buziro.

86. Interviews: E. Kakudidi, C. Kafureka.

87. *Ibid.*

88. Kasenene, 'Traditional religion and political leadership in Ankole', p.276.

89. *Ibid.*, p.276.

90. Bamunoba, 'The development of the Anglican Church in West Ankole', p.91.

91. Interview: Tibekinga and Kamujanduzi.

92. Kasenene, 'Traditional religion and political leadership in Ankole', p.276.

93. Kamugungunu and Katate, *Abagabe B'Ankole*, p.72.

94. Lewin annual report, 1924, CMSA.

95. Interview: E. Muhoozi.

96. J.V. Taylor, 'The Spiritual equipment of the local church and its servants', printed script: CMS archives, quoted in Ward, 'Obedient rebels', p.199. Taylor was the Warden of Bishop Tucker College, the main CMS training college in Uganda for church workers, 1944-54.

97. Maari, 'The growth of the Anglican Church in Ankole', p.56.

98. Clarke, annual letter, 30 June 1930, CMSA.

99. The Rev. E.S. Daniell, 'African teachers in training: how we work', CMS Gleaner, 1818, p.152.

100. Tinka, 'Uganda's first Anglican Archbishop'.

101. Interview: K. Shalita.

102. This was one of the complaints that the Bairu Christians of Bweranyangi deanery made against Sabiti in their letter to Bishop Brown of 4 May 1957, Bweranyangi Cathedral Archives.

103. Bishop L. Brown to Rev. E. Sabiti, 2 December 1954, Bweranyangi Cathedral.

104. Erica Sabiti to Bishop L. Brown, 1 March 1955, Bweranyangi Cathedral.

105. Maari, 'The growth of the Anglican Church in Ankole', p.100.

106. Bishop L. Brown's speech at the opening of the Emmanuel Church, Kabwohe,m 3 May 1953; Kabwohe Parish Office.

107. Rural Deanery file, 1957-58; Kabwohe Parish Office.

108. Bweranyangi Rural Deanery file, 1957-61; Bweranyangi Cathedral.

109. Bweranyangi deanery Christians to Bishop L. Brown, 11 March 1955; Bweranyangi Cathedral.

110. Interview: D. Rwamishare, E. Baryaija.

111. Bweranyangi Christians to Bishop Brown, 11 March 1955, Bweranyangi Cathedral Archives.

112. Bweranyangi Christians to Brown, 11 March 1955.

113. Interview: Rwamishare and Baryaija, *op. cit*,

114. Bishop L. Brown, written communication, 28 May 1992.

115. Bweranyangi Rural Deanery Council Minutes of 7 February 1956, Bweranyangi Cathedral Archives.

116. Interviews: Canon B. Itima, Canon E. Muhoozi.

117. Bamunoba, 'The development of the Church in West Ankole', p.91.

118. These biographical details were given by Bishop Shalita in an interview at his home at Rwentanga in Kashari, Mbarara District, 25 July 1990.

119. G. Ibingira, *The Forging of an African nation* (New York 1973), p.43.

120. Bamunoba, 'The development of the Church in West Ankole', p.91.

121. Ibingira, *The Forging of an African Nation*, p.52.

122. *Eishengyero* Minutes, 29-31 October 1957, Mbarara Archives.

123. *Ibid.*

124. *Ibid.*

125. Bishop L. Brown's speech at the opening of the Emmanuel Church, Kabwohe, 3 May 1953; Kabwohe Parish Office.

126. *Eishengyero* Minutes, 29-31 October 1957, Mbarara Archives.

127. *Ibid.*

128. *Eishengyero* Minutes, 29-31 October 1957, Mbarara Archives.

129. Interview: Kamomo.

130. *Eishengyero* Minutes, 16-17 January 1958, Mbarara Archives.

131. *Ibid.*

132. Interview: A. Buringhuriza, J. Kahigiriza, Y. Makaru, C. Kafureka, K. Nyeishaija.

133. *Ibid.*

134. Ageteraine, 6 June 1958, Mbarara Diocese Archives, Nyamitanga.

135. Interview: A. Buringuriza.

136. Ibingira, *The Forging of an African Nation*, p.86.

137. Welbourn, *Religion and Politics in Uganda 1952-1962* (Nairobi 1965), p.21.

138. *Busesire*, 8th April 1960, Ruharo Cathedral.

139. *Busesire*, 16 April 1960, Ruharo Cathedral.

140. *Busesire*, 16 April 1960, Ruharo Cathedral.

141. Stenning, 'Salvation in Ankole', p.261.

142. *Ibid.*, p.261.

143. *Busesire*, 16 April 1960, Ruharo Cathedral. The deanery Council did not have the powers to determine the period and intensity of the catechism.

144. Interview: E. Kikatsi, K. Nyaishaija.

145. *Ekyababatize* (Baptism Register Book) for Kabwohe parish, 1960, Kabwohe Parish Office.

146. *Ekyababatize* for Rubare parish, 1960-1; *Ekyababatize* for Ibanda parish, 1959-61.

147. Kaseene, 'Traditional religion and political leadership in Ankole', p.206.

148. Interview: E. Kikatsi, Y. Kagwisagye. Both Kikatsi and Kagwisagye were clerks in Ankole's local administration in the 1960s.

149. *Busesire*, 2 September 1960, Ruharo Cathedral.

150. Establishment List for Pensionable Officers and Employees of the Ankole Kingdom Government, 1961, typescript, Mbarara Archives.

151. Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, pp.267-8.

152. *Ibid.*, p.210.

153. *Ibid.*, p.262.

154. A. Hastings, *A History of African Christianity 1950-1975* (Cambridge 1979), p.154.

155. M. Doornbos, 'Kumanyana and Rwenzururu: two responses to ethnic inequality', in R.I. Rotberg and A. Mazrui (eds), *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (New York 1970), p.1095.

156. Interview: C. Kafureeka, Y. Makaaru, E. Iringaniza.

157. Ibingira, *The Forging of an African Nation*, p.83.

158. Mutibwa, 'The Church of Uganda and the movements for political indepenence', in Tuma and Mutibwa (eds), *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, p.141.

CHAPTER SIX

GENDER RELATIONS

As in ethnic relations, Anglican Christianity was a factor of substantial importance in changing gender relations in Ankole. Certainly the relations between the sexes among the Bairu and Bahima were also affected by the ethnic division. The Bahima women stood to gain more from the Bairu women in the exchange of each others' produce. In spite of this, gender relations among the two ethnic groups were more or less the same, the women enjoying fewer social opportunities and privileges than men. They could not inherit land or property, and in public life with the exception of the religious sphere, they did not enjoy an equal participation with men. The traditional institution of family life also strengthened the men's authority over the women, allowing polygamy and subjecting women to a number of food prohibitions. Actually, the Bahima women had much less access to public life than the Bairu women. They led a life of seclusion, confined to the home and veiling themselves in the presence of men and strangers. Indeed, when the early missionaries subsequently made contact with the Bairu, they reckoned that the life of the Bairu women was much better socially than that of the Bahima women.[1]

In contrast to its silence on ethnic relations, the CMS was convinced that some aspects of the relations of the sexes in Ankole needed to be changed and made some effort to do so. Nonetheless, the change in gender relations also emerged from the consequences of an evangelistic strategy which dictated the use of women preachers, the provision of girls' education, and from the impact of the Revival Movement.

6.1 Missionary Work among the Banyankore Women

The CMS on the whole entrusted the pioneer work among the Banyankore women to women evangelists and missionaries. In 1892 the Mengo church council had appointed the outstanding Christian wives of some of its members to take charge of the classes of women and girls.[2] When Bishop Tucker returned to Uganda in 1893, he readily welcomed the council's initiative and boosted it by inviting European women missionaries to come to Uganda. The work of these European missionaries would be to teach and promote indigenous women's training and evangelism, as Bishop Tucker later summarised:

> Two visits to Uganda had impressed me with the need of English women, not merely as evangelists, but as teachers who might take in hand the work of training native women, who, in their turn, might become Evangelists to their fellow country-women.[3]

Apparently, both the council's initiative and Bishop Tucker's impressions were based on the enthusiastic response to the Christian message among the Baganda women. It is admittedly not easy to tell what percentage of the first converts in Buganda were women for the missionaries' statistics did not give the division of converts by sex. Nonetheless, it is clear that the 1890s in Buganda showed a vast increase of both men and women in the ranks of catechumens and Christians. For example, in 1890 Bishop Tucker estimated "some four or five hundred men and women" whom he found being taught daily at the mission centre at Mengo, and a thousand or more "earnest worshippers and eager listeners", men and women, "gathered together inside the church, and outside about the doors and windows" at the first nine o'clock Sunday service in Buganda.[4] He described the Church in Buganda in 1895-6 in these words:

> Men and women in their thousands were coming forward for instruction. Candidates for Baptism or Confirmation daily thronged the Mission-houses in the hope of having their names enrolled... Books, mainly scriptures, were selling like wildfire. On every side churches and reading-houses were springing up, and were being crowded daily by eager seekers after the Truth.[5]

Bishop Tucker's request for European women missionaries was greeted with a marked lack of enthusiasm at the CMS headquarters in London.[6] The Society's employment of women in their own capacity as missionaries was then a recent innovation,[7] but it would be going beyond the scope of this study to enter into details of the biased attitudes of the Church of England towards the role of women in the ministry and mission of the church.[8] In any case, prejudice against women missionaries apparently had little to do with the refusal of Uganda's request. When this request was made, the CMS had begun recruiting and sending out women as missionaries in large numbers.[9] According to Bishop Tucker, the CMS in London considered that the enormous distance from the coast to Uganda, when the quickest means of travel was by water, would be too taxing and risky a journey for the women:

> The chief difficulty in the way of realisation of our hopes lay in the long and trying journey through what is now known as German East Africa.[10]

In 1895 the Society gave way and sent women missionaries to Uganda, a year before a practical solution to the journey problem had been arrived at, the building of a railway-line from the coast to Uganda from 1896-1901. It may be that the Society knew that a solution to the transport problem was imminent. It must be pointed out also that it is a myth that most of the European visitors, missionaries, explorers, and colonisers who travelled in Africa at the time, actually walked. They may have travelled on foot, but in most cases the feet were not their own! A good

number of them travelled on the back of an animal (donkey, and camel) or, more frequently, in hammocks or chairs carried on African shoulders and backs. For example, in recounting what had been arranged for the journey of the first party of women missionaries from the coast to Uganda, Bishop Tucker reported:

> In our camp was a small menagerie. We had four camels, three cows, and an equal number of calves; two young oxen for killing, twenty three goats and sheep who had a similar fate before them, and twenty-six donkeys. The number of men carrying loads and looking after the detail of the camp was about 500.[11]

The women were to be among the loads that the African men were to carry. Although Bishop Tucker was not explicit about it in his account of the journey, he alluded to it as he told of the wonderful reception which the party received on arrival in Buganda:

> The welcome accorded to the ladies by the Baganda women at Ngogwe was wellnigh overwhelming. They ran along by the sides of the ladies' chairs grasping their hands and uttering all manner of joyful and loving greetings.[12]

What, then, was the CMS' most crucial consideration about sending women missionaries to Uganda? Most likely it was the women's security. It was feared that the women's wellbeing would be difficult to guarantee amidst the religious turmoil in Uganda. However, it seems that when the British Protectorate over Uganda was declared in 1894, the CMS was reassured.

The circumstances that surrounded employing a special women's mission in Ankole contrasted sharply with those in Buganda. Whereas in Buganda it was the readiness with which women responded to Christianity that prompted missionary effort to focus specially on women, in Ankole it was the failure of the existing missionary activity to reach women which necessitated the sending of female workers. The pioneer missionaries and catechists found it difficult to get access to the Bahima

women. As already indicated, the Bahima women mainly lived in their kraals, and also veiled themselves whenever they were to meet a stranger or to appear in public.[13]

According to H. Clayton, even the first few Bahima women whom the mission managed to draw to catechism classes attended with their heads and faces completely covered. "The women were there", Clayton described in 1902, "the higher class ladies enveloped in barkcloth and their faces turned to the wall".[14] It was this encounter which convinced J.J. Willis and H. Clayton that a special mission by women among the Banyankore women was imperative. Willis wrote in his first annual letter from Ankole:

> A peculiar difficulty of Ankole, which does not exist in Buganda, is the position of women. They live a zenana life, and here, as in India, women can only be reached by women. The congregations are composed of men and boys.[15]

It must be remembered that at this early stage of missionary work in Ankole, the missionaries supposed that the native people of Ankole were the Bahima, and it was on them that they had concentrated their efforts. They had hardly begun to think of the Bairu, and they could not realise that seclusion and the veil were practised only by the Bahima women.

Clayton appealed for women catechists from the CMS mission in Toro, where European women missionaries had already been at work.[16] Miss E. Pike and A.B. Fisher of Toro sent Hana Kageye. By her background and experience, Kageye was well suited for that mission. She was a high-ranking princess in Toro, and one of the first Batoro women to embrace Christianity and help in missionary work. Miss Ruth Hurditch, one of the first European women missionaries in Toro, described Kageye in 1902 as "one of our most important woman chiefs and head of the king's

household".[17] At that time she was already an old woman and a widow, but with her husband had lived in exile in Ankole when *Omukama* Kabarega deposed Toro's royal family in the 1880s.[18]

Kageye did worthwhile mission work among the Bahima women. She visited, taught them at home and took baptism classes.[19] Her mission was so successful that it was her two girl pupils, Kakibara and Kinkuhaire, who were the second batch of Banyankore converts to be baptised in Ankole. Baptised on 8 June 1902, they took the names Maryamu and Keziya respectively.[20] Similarly, six months later, Kageye's labours brought to the baptismal font the two most eminent women in Ankole, that is, Ankole's queen, who took the name Esita (Esther), and the wife of the Prime Minister who was named Samali.[21]

Kageye also encouraged women to go out to church, and to unveil themselves in public. She was implementing the policy of the European missionaries in Ankole who were undivided in their opposition to the veil.[22] In fact, at their baptismal service, Kageye's pupils, Esther and Samali led the way and unveiled themselves. Describing this spectacle, Clayton wrote:

> One special feature in the service was now for the first time the ladies appeared unveiled in public. Those who were going to be baptised had arranged to give up covering their heads with bark cloth, and the other ladies present did the same.[23]

Furthermore, Kageye taught women some practical skills: sewing, knitting and mat making. In addition, she recruited some of the Banyankore women to help her in the work of visiting and teaching women.[24]

The first single European women missionaries came to Ankole in June 1903. They were Miss M.T. Baker and Miss A.K. Attlee. "We were the first lady missionaries", recounted Miss A. Attlee in 1904, "to go and live among the Banyankole, and

we were met with a very warm reception".[25] Their mission was confined to the Bahima. Miss Attlee soon afterwards left but her place was filled by Miss H. Turnbull on her marriage to Herbert Clayton in January 1904.[26] It was Hilda Clayton and, more particularly, Mabel Baker who stayed for a long time in Ankole, engaged in full-time evangelistic work, and succeeded in getting the mission to embrace all the Banyankore women, both the Bairu and Bahima. The other European women missionaries who came later either stayed for a short time or in the main worked full time in the girls' boarding school.

Mrs Clayton and Miss Baker reinforced Kageye's efforts. They encouraged the policy of pastoral visiting around Mbarara. They fixed Thursday afternoons as the time for visiting, and enlisted the efforts of the Bahima women Christians whom they sent out "in twos for 'fishing' at least two heathens each".[27] Miss Baker also did itinerant work far from Mbarara at the out-station churches of Kyagaju, Kitojo and Ibanda.[28] The practice of visiting the villages was emphasised because it attracted the Banyankore women to the mission. For example, in 1905 Miss Baker reported that whenever the women went out visiting, they "brought in so many".[29] Similarly, Miss Coombs, having spent a year in Ankole in 1907, aptly observed:

> The people love and value a visit, and we have found this a sure way of getting the people to come and read, or at least to visit us in our homes.[30]

It is not surprising that the missionaries' visiting was attracting people, for visiting was part of the traditional custom of friendliness and hospitality. It figured prominently in the stories about the origins of Ankole.[31] As J.V. Taylor learnt from Buganda, a visitor was "never an interruption", and every visit was expected to be repaid. Similarly, any visit to the family, even if it was intended for one particular

member of the family was regarded as one to the whole family, and consequently any member or all the members of that family could return it.[32]

With the increase in the number of women coming to the mission, Miss Baker and Mrs. Clayton organised separate reading and baptism classes for women. It is reported that by November 1903 Miss Baker's separate women's baptismal class was being attended by as many as eighty women each day.[33] In addition, there were eighty-six women, out of 180 candidates presented for confirmation in July 1907.[34] By 1911, the number of women attending baptismal classes daily had risen to over a hundred.[35]

Furthermore, Miss Baker discouraged the seclusion and veiling of women from the start of her work in Ankole.[36] Neither she nor any other missionaries were in favour of the custom. Christian Bahima women and catechumen were encouraged to come to church without a veil; and when Bishop Tucker visited Ankole in July 1907, he noticed that the church was making a breakthrough in the custom, as he wrote:

> Men and women were evidently making melody in their hearts to the Lord. Teaching was going on all around. The school was prospering, and (greatest change of all) the women had been given a large measure of freedom, and had come out of seclusion. Many, indeed, half hidden in veils and under umbrellas, managed to walk a mile or two on the road to meet me.[37]

By 1920 little is heard from missionary records about seclusion and veiling among the Bahima Christian [38] Early women converts such as Mrs. J. Ntungwerisho, or Mrs. G. Sabiti, testify that by the 1940s it had been accepted as a matter of policy that it was wrong for Christian women to veil themselves, though it was acceptable for them to wear headscarves; but even then, headscarves were not allowed inside the church.[39] It is also reasonable to argue that the expansion of Anglican Christianity beyond the Bahima to the Bairu also helped to diminish the two practices, since they

were not an issue for the Bairu women.

Why did the missionaries disapprove of seclusion and the veiling? For the missionaries, the reason was a pragmatic one, the motive evangelistic. In their view seclusion and veiling were preventing women converts from learning the new ideas, receiving the teaching of the gospel and from offering themselves for mission work. Miss Baker metaphorically expressed this view when she asserted in June 1905:

> The women are very slow in taking in new ideas, partly because until Christianity came into the country, they were as secluded as the Purdah women of India, indeed more so, as their lives were spent in real darkness, behind a dirty barkcloth in a small hut. I think this fact may partly account for the amount of neuralgia they have, now that they are so much in the sunshine: it is rather strong for their eyes, always accustomed to darkness.[40]

However it remains a point of some interest that the CMS missionaries were utterly negative in their determination to abolish rather than reform the two customs, which in all probability were akin to the apostolic teaching about women's modesty in a Christian community.[41] It is interesting to observe that while the CMS was stamping out veiling, the Roman Catholic missionaries were busy introducing it among their Bairu women converts; no woman was allowed to attend mass with her head uncovered.[42] The Ankole missionaries' determination may, perhaps, have been evangelistically motivated, but they were also engaged in a civilising mission. Judging from Miss Baker's words quoted above, the missionaries supposed that seclusion was an aspect of the 'primitive' way of life of the Bahima before the coming of Christianity - a practice that promoted 'darkness', which in the European terminology about Africa signified a lower state of 'civilisation'.[43]

Nevertheless, in discouraging seclusion and veiling Anglican Christianity initiated some change in the relations of Bahima men and women. As a result, some

Bahima Christian women began to engage in work outside the kraal, taking part in the teaching of other women. For example, in November 1906, Clayton reported:

> It is delightful to see the way in which the senior women, headed by Esita, the king's wife, carry on the daily classes and organise the weekly district visiting.[44]

As early as 1905 some women had started offering themselves as church teachers and catechists.[45] According to Miss Baker, by 1907 there was already "a band of native teachers" in Ankole who could carry on the work during her absence,[46] and by 1909 there were seven Banyankore women catechists, perhaps all Bahima, in the full-time ministry of the church.[47] Maryamu Kakibara was the most outstanding of the Banyankore women teachers and catechists of this period. Mrs. Clayton described her in 1911 as "a most dutiful wife and mother".[48] After her baptism, Kakibara started sharing in the teaching of women's baptismal classes, and village pastoral visiting at Mbarara. In 1912, she did her 'first letter'[49] in Toro, and came back to Mbarara. Until 1954 she was very influential in raising the educational standards of Christian women. Her main duty in the church at Mbarara was to prepare women candidates for baptism, and in addition to reading, writing and catechism, she taught the women simple hygiene, and diet.[50]

There was a sharp decline in the number of Banyankore women catechists towards the end of the second decade, around 1916. Only three Banyankore women catechists were reported as being in full-time church work, as compared with 242 Banyankore men catechists.[51] This downturn might have been part of the general slackening of all mission work and activities in Ankole in particular and Uganda at large owing to the effects of the War of 1914-18; and it did not last long.[57] Soon after the war, the numbers of women in both training and full-time work as catechists

and teachers began to rise again. In 1923, the missionary records reported nine Banyankore women reading for their "teacher first certificate";[52] and the number rose to eighteen in 1930.[53] Similarly, there were thirty four women in full time work in 1930, and by 1950 there were eighty-seven.[54] This increase may reflect not only the spread of the church to the Bairu, but also the impact of both the Revival movement and the development of formal education for girls, which will be discussed later on.

Furthermore, some women became freelance church workers and carried on evangelistic missionary work, without entering into the full-time ministry of the church. The best examples from the pioneer period were Ankole's Queen Esita and Julia Kibubura, the chieftainess of Ibanda (1903-51). Neither woman ever entered full-time church work or read for any church letter (certificate), but the two remained strong Christian witnesses around Mbarara and Ibanda respectively, doing pastoral visiting and preaching. In 1914 Esita taught a baptism class when Mrs. Baker was on leave.[55] Baptised in 1903, Kibubura combined her civil responsibilities with Christian witness. She made the growth and development of the church in Ibanda her personal concern.[56] Her work was commended in the CMS Report of 1924-5 in these words:

> Yet one woman at least is much to the fore, for a new brick church at Ibanda has been furnished mainly through her efforts. She is the only government chieftainship in the protectorate, who has been the means of the conversion of five hundred women in her village, and her consistent life exercises an immense influence for good.[57]

6.2 Women Church Workers

In addition to taking women from home into public life, women's work in the Church had the effect of raising the status of women, particularly in the eyes of those whom they taught. In order to grasp this consequence, it is important to get a clear picture of what women did in the mission. In the pioneer period in Ankole, the women missionaries and catechists were in theory appointed mainly to work among women and the children. For example, the Church Constitution of 1909 sharply distinguished the duties of Ugandan women church workers from those of the laymen church workers. Whereas the latter were to "conduct such educational, evangelistic and other work as does fall within the duties of the clergy" the former were assigned the same duties but only "among women and children", and duties which did not "necessarily fall within the duties of the clergy".[58] Although this distinction remained on paper, in practice the work of the women missionaries and catechists in Ankole was all-embracing.

The Church of England sanctions against women's preaching and teaching in the church appear to have had little effect in Ankole in particular, and in the CMS Uganda Mission, in general. Up to 1921 it was still regarded by most people in the Church of England as "generally inexpedient and contrary to the interests of the church that women should publicly minister in consecrated buildings".[59] But in the Uganda Mission the women missionaries and catechists taught and preached to all people, men, women and children from the pioneer period onwards. Describing the nature of the congregations the women met and taught during their pastoral visits in Ankole, Mrs. Clayton wrote in 1911:

> Armed with reading sheets we set off three and three. We never lacked audience; and often as many as twenty to thirty men and women and children would gather round at one time and would listen attentively to an explanation of our picture. After teaching them all to repeat some simple text or prayer, we passed on to the next group of huts.[60]

Similarly, the women missionaries did itinerant preaching and teaching in the out-station churches.[61] Additionally, some women catechists staffed outstation churches and congregations single handed. For example, in 1909 Herbert Clayton reported a woman having come forward as a teacher from Kyagaju, one of the out-station churches, and working in another village "teaching and preaching the gospel".[62] Similarly, some time later, Nyakaraya established a church at Rwengando in 1946, and led it until 1950.[63] In addition, according to Bishop Shalita, churches at Kabira, Muzira, Nkongoro and Bujaga were all pioneered by women catechists.[64]

It is not clear why the CMS Uganda mission relaxed the preaching and teaching sanctions laid down by its constitution. Very probably, it was because of the shortage of men missionaries in the field. Missionary reports are full of endless appeals from the Uganda Mission to the headquarters in London for more missionaries. Ankole was one of the badly staffed mission centres in Uganda. At no time did it have more than one resident missionary in charge of pastoral work apart from the time of Willis and Clayton, 1901-2. The Rev. F. Rowlings, the secretary to the Uganda Missionary Committee, highlighted this long-standing problem about missionary personnel in Ankole in one of his letters of appeal to Headquarters for more missionaries in 1920, and wrote:

> Ankole is a very important section of the work, and people are disposed to think we neglect them, and we want to counteract this idea to the utmost.[65]

Unfortunately, Rowlings' wish was never realised. Fifteen years later, Bishop Stuart

sent a similar plea and in a much less optimistic tone. He wrote:

> Personally, I feel, and I have always felt, that Ankole had been badly treated, being starved of men, but what could we do?[66]

Recent studies have shown that the CMS in London was also willing to give its women missionaries more extensive duties and a more influential role than was permitted their women counterparts at home.[67]

There can be little doubt that this practice of men receiving Christian religious instruction from women teachers and preachers boosted the status of women in Ankole. Men increasingly began to acknowlege the authority of women. The women catechists and preachers were representatives of the most high God, and religious personages in Ankole society commanded high respect.[68] In addition, they stood for the new and superior civilisation. Operating in the European milieu of racial superiority and paternalism at the turn of the nineteeth and twentieth centuries, the European women missionaries insisted on the high sounding terms of address of 'madam' and 'lady' from both the Banyankore men and women.[69] The Banyankore men accepted these titles and began using them when addressing the women missionaries. During the pioneer period, they also demanded that the Banyankore should be on their knees when talking to them, and called the Banyankore men, who came to the mission to read, 'boys' regardless of their age.[70] They in turn passed on some of these habits, particularly the forms of address, to the women teachers and catechists who insisted on not being called by their names but on being addressed as *Mukuru* which means "a highly ranking person".

However, it is evident that, although the church's use of women workers contributed to an enhancement of the status of women in Ankole society, the church's attitude to its own female workers left much to be desired. In contrast to the

significant proportion of men workers employed by the CMS mission and church in Ankole, the numbers of the Banyankore women workers were low, even at their peak in 1905, and again in 1950. In 1905, only nineteen women were so employed,[71] as compared with fifty-eight men, while in 1950 the figure had risen to sixty-four women out of a total of 483.[72] Likewise, the church provided little motivation to the women who wanted to pursue their careers in working full time for the church. Most women catechists did not go beyond the "first letter" (*Ebaruha y'Eitware*)[73] in their training for church work. Even as late as 1961, the church in Ankole had not seconded a single woman to the Diocesan Training College at Mukono. According to to S. Tibesasa, and S. Katikuzi, the trainees whom the church in Ankole sent to Mukono were those who were considered to be en route for the ordained ministry. Hence women were not considered because they could not be ordained.[74]

Certainly this failure to admit women to the ordained ministry was a serious omission as far as the status of women in Ankore was concerned. Traditionally, the religious sphere was one of the areas in life where women competed equally with men. In fact, some of the highest religious positions were held by women. The office of the *Murogo* of Ibanda could be occupied only by a woman. According to Bamunoba, the *Murogo* was one of the famous diviners for the Omugabe. The King consulted her before he went to war; and the amount which she demanded for her divination was never refused.[75]

All the same, this failure to admit women to the ordained ministry need not conceal the impact which the special women's mission to the Banyankore women had on the status of women. On the whole, the women's work was a success. It is clear that the Banyankore women gradually adopted Christianity from the 1930s onwards.

As in Buganda, the missionaries' lists of converts were not given by sex; but by piecing together oral and fragmentary written evidence, there emerges a picture which shows that women formed the majority at Sunday services in Ankore by the 1930s. Similarly, although there are no specific figures, it is generally believed that more women than men have been members of the Revival Movement since its beginning in Ankole.

How can this high level of female response be explained? Missionary records state that the Banyankore women came because they wanted to read and to pray.[76] Some of the early women Christians, such as Rakeri Ruhekura and Geraldine Sabiti, said when interviewed that they were attracted to the church by the white clothes which were worn at baptism.[77] Such an attraction need not be dismissed merely as an expression of materialism devoid of religious content, for consideration was given more to the white colour of the clothing than to the clothing itself. Animals for sacrifice were either black or white in most of the Banyankore cults, and the two colours signified religious purity.[78]

Studies from many parts of Africa have also recorded a high response to Christianity among the women, and have given various reasons for it. Elizabeth Isichei explained that the Anuguta of central Nigeria flocked to Christianity from the 1950s onwards because it offered a hope of liberation from the traditional male dominated spiritual world, and was a more effective therapy than spirit possession.[79] This was partly true of Ankole. To most of the *Banyankore* women, particularly those who were not officials in any of the religious cults, Christianity promised a hope of liberation from the confines of the homestead. It also provided, particularly through the Revival, a more effective means of therapy. Indeed, it has been argued

that the Revival Movement was accepted among the Bahima because it utilised the ritual features of their traditional spirit possession - of "confession as therapy and testimony as initiation".[80]

6.3 The Mothers' Union

The Mothers' Union was introduced to Ankole by Miss Baker in 1909 in response to an appeal made at the European women missionaries' conference, held at Namirembe, 8-9 July in 1908.[81] This conference had been convened by the European women missionaries and wives of missionaries to discuss their position in the mission,[82] and how to raise the standard of their women converts. At the conference, Mrs. Weatherhead, one of the senior missionaries' wives, gave a paper entitled, "The Mothers' Union and how it may benefit Baganda women". True to its title, the paper outlined how the Mothers' Union could improve the welfare of women in Uganda and strengthen Christian living in the home. It concluded by calling for the establishing of Mothers' Union groups in all the mission centres, and by acclaiming the positive change such effort would accomplish. "What a revolution", so concluded Mrs. Weatherhead, "would be worked in Uganda if we had a band of mothers truly living up to the objects of the Mothers' Union!"[83]

On returning from the conference, Miss Baker started organising a Mothers' Union meeting at Mbarara. The Banyankore women responded enthusiastically to the early meetings. In her annual letter of 1909, Miss Baker, for example, wrote:

> There is a monthly meeting for mothers. A hundred of them attend; and are given a practical talk on the rearing of children.[84]

Starting at Mbarara, Mothers' Union groups were established in all the church centres

in Ankole. They were begun at Kitojo in 1915, Ibanda in 1920, Bweranyangi in 1934, Kinoni in 1946, and Kitunga in 1948, and Rutoma in 1954. In 1951 Mrs. J. Njangari from Bunyoro was appointed full-time worker for the Mothers' Union in Ankole. Miss Margaret Clayton, a CMS missionary, was appointed assistant in 1956.[85]

Through the Mothers' Union, the church exerted a great deal of influence on the position of women in Ankole. During the Mothers' Union meetings the women studied the Bible. According to Margaret Clayton, Bible study at the Mothers' Union meetings was not just a matter of reading the text, but usually ended in a simulation activity. Women played the roles of, or modelled in clay, the characters from the Bible readings. In addition, they learnt useful skills: child care, household work, sewing, and even reading and writing.[86] For instance, as early as 1910, it was already being reported that through the Mothers' Union meetings, "many women have been taught pillow lace and can do it fairly quickly".[87] One might, no doubt, question the use of such a skill for the Banyankore women at that time, nonetheless, the incident demonstrates the commitment of the Mothers' Union to giving skills to the women. In 1929 H.B. Lewin reported "a weekly knitting class which 'has given great joy'" at Mbarara.[88]

In the 1950s the Mothers' Union groups began producing some finished craft products: baskets, table-cloths, mats, carpets, and handmade children's wear for sale.[89] Sales of these articles were held in all the parish churches in Ankole on Lady Day, 25 March. The day was marked with the Mothers' Union celebrations. It opened with a church service at which new members were recruited, and was crowned with a concert and feasting. It was the Mothers' Union members who did all the

and organising for the day. According to Mrs. Janet Muhoozi, who succeeded Njangari as the Mothers' Union worker for Bweranyangi, the 25 March celebrations helped not only to consolidate and advertise the Mothers' Union in Ankole, but also to improve the social image of the Mothers' Union members. They put the Mothers' Union members on a public stage where the women could exhibit their talents.[89]

Above all, the Mothers' Union weekly group meetings were a source of spiritual nourishment and strengthening which most Christian wives depended on for the day to day support in their married life. Both Miss Clayton and Mrs. Muhoozi pointed out that it was this spiritual consolation that chiefly motivated the wives to attend the Mothers' Union meetings. Determined to maintain Christian standards in their homes, and to keep to the rhythm of rapid social change, the wives were happy to walk long distances in order to sit for a number of hours with a few other wives involved in the same task, for they knew that it would enable them to endure for another week.[90] The Mothers' Union encouraged the members to share their marriage experiences with one another, to begin family prayers at home with their husbands, to keep their home clean and tidy, and themselves smart and attractive.[91] Two elderly Mothers' Union members testified how through the advice from the Mothers' Union, they were able to handle some of the crises which rose in their marriages and which could have easily led their husbands to take additional wives. One said that she was lazy, and could hardly produce enough food for her children, and the other, that she was untidy and loose with her tongue.[92]

Furthermore, the Mothers' Union was bitterly opposed to the practice of polygamy, an opposition which it shared with the whole mission and the church. In fact, this was part of the original task that Mrs. Weatherhead expected the Mothers'

Union to accomplish in Uganda when she vehemently argued for its inauguration in 1908:

> I think I am right in saying that it is our work to teach the women the beauty and greatness of their new position in Christian marriage, not as being one of the many other wives but the only helpmate of her husband.[93] .

As elsewhere in Africa, including the rest of Uganda, polygamy was the most maligned traditional institution in Ankole.[94] From the beginning of their work the missionaries pinpointed polygamy as one of the obstacles to their efforts. Polygamist men could not be be baptised; the additional wives could, but were not admitted to full membership of the church. As a matter of church policy, monogamous marriage was the rule for all Christians. The Mothers' Union, as it were, led the way in making an onslaught on polygamy. It frequently called on the mission to exert extra efforts against polygamy. In 1913, Miss Baker translated the Marriage Service from the *Book of Common Prayer* into the Runyankore language. This was the first liturgical service to be produced in the local language.[95] The Mothers' Union also taught its members that they were equal with their husbands; and it was also concerned with maintaining monogamous marriages.

It would appear that the lead taken by the Mothers' Union against polygamy was rewarded. From the 1940s polygamy in Ankole was noted to be on the decline; by the late 1950s, it was reckoned that 81 per cent of all the church marriages in Ankole were monogamous.[96] Of course the church and its Mothers' Union were by no means the only factors in undermining polygamy, and replacing it with monogamy. There were other causes as well: social, economic, and political.[97]

By rejecting polygamy and insisting on monogamy, the Mothers' Union defended the status of women. Although polygamy was a source of security for the

Banyankore widows and other unfortunate women who could not otherwise get husbands, it also generally reduced the status of women. It is evident that wives in a polygamous marriage competed to win the favour of their husband, and struggled to assert their authority. Interviews with some of the elderly Banyankore men and women indicated that both men and women believed that a man with many wives did not succumb to the whims and fancies or the commands of any of them. They also took the view that a man with one wife had no choice but to comply with the rulings of his lone wife.[98] Most Banyankore men feared monogamy because of the excessive powers it could easily put into the hand of wives. *Omukazi omwe ni nyoko* ('one wife is your mother'), was one of the *Kinyankore* proverbs which expressed that fear. Evidently, the taking of a second or additional wife was sometimes aimed at humbling those first wives who tried to overrule their husbands, or mistreat them.[99]

It was noted during the 1930s that the whole programme of the Mothers' Union boosted the position of women not only in Ankole rural deanery but also in the whole diocese. In 1930 E.S. Danniell accredited the Mothers' Union with having done "a lot of good in creating public opinion in the country on marriage and the status of women".[100] In the same letter, he went on to affirm:

> I feel sure that the Mothers' Union has done a tremendous amount of quiet work in this direction, leavening the country with higher ideals of womanhood, motherhood, and marriage. How my wife would rejoice.[101]

In the same way, Cole, the missionary in charge of the Mothers Union at Kako in West Buganda (1930-43), reported that the Mothers' Union activities were helping to undermine the husbands' excessive authority over their wives. In her 1936 report, she wrote:

> By the printed page, by daily prayer, and by Christian fellowship it is

> making its influence felt throughout the diocese in the home life of the people; and that is why many a husband prevents his wife from joining it. She cannot be a loyal member of the union and connive, as she is expected to do, at his manner of life, but through it the women are slowly learning to honour pure marriage, even more than motherhood, and family life is being enriched.[102]

The Mothers' Union, however, insisted on restricting its membership to those women whose marriage had been solemnised in church. Mrs. Herbert, a European missionary, observed that this restriction inhibited the breadth of the Mothers' Union which was essential in a pioneer situation like Uganda. In 1944 she toured and visited all the Mothers' Union groups in the diocese. After reporting on the splendid work by the Mothers' Union in the diocese, she also added:

> But this touches only part of the work needing to be done as the Mothers' Union is very exclusive, and caters for the good wives who are fortunate enough to be married to good husbands. Outside these are the women with polygamous husbands, the young unmarried women of doubtful character, and women who, for various causes, are living irregularly - all urgently needing understanding and help, as well as the example of Christian married life which the members stand for.[103]

This rigid attitude limited the Mothers' Union influence in Ankole because it could not embrace all Christian women. Unfortunately, the church did not provide any alternative for the women who were shut out by the Mothers' Union. They could come to church for the weekly Sunday services, so long as they did not go far enough forward to reach the communion-rail and touch the eucharistic elements, or aspire to any responsibility in the Church.[104]

However, the Mothers' Union influence still filtered through to some of them. Ankole being "an oral society", the Mothers' Union women usually shared what they learnt from their meetings freely and informally with their non-member village friends and relatives. S. Katikuzi reports that whenever he went for pastoral visiting he found

the non Mothers' Union members practising what was being taught to the Mothers' Union members in their meetings. One of the vivid examples he recalled was that of boiling water for drinking. Most of the residents in one of the villages in his parish of Ibanda (1953-62) did not boil water for drinking. The Mothers' Union team from the parish conducted a course for the Mothers' Union at the church in that village and taught the importance and necessity of boiling water for drinking. On visiting the village a month after the course Katikuzi found the Mothers' Union and most of the non-Mothers' Union women Christians, and even some of those who were not yet Christians with special pots neatly covered with skilfully made banana fibre covers, for boiled drinking water.[105]

Some recent studies have criticised African Christian women's societies for having promoted male domination in the church. According to F.C. Steady, Christian women's associations, including the Mothers' Union. promoted "a conservative female ideology" in the churches in Freetown, Sierra Leone.[106] She argues that the Mothers' Union provided an alternative route in church leadership for women, and prevented them from competing for executive church positions which remained in the hands of men. According to Steady, it also supported a double standard of morality between men and women, telling wives to uphold the sanctity of marriage without involving their husbands. In Ankole, such a critique seems less valid. The Mothers' Union was still in the pioneer stage, vibrant with change, advocating the partnership of husband and wife, opposing polygamy, teaching new skills and enabling women to take part in the life outside the homestead.

6.4 Formal Education for Girls

While the ministry of women missionaries, catechists and preachers and that of the Mothers' Union showed that Banyankore women could enjoy the same social privileges as men both at work and at home, formal education showed that they were capable of doing so. Like the Mothers' Union, formal education for girls was pioneered in Ankole by Miss M.T. Baker. She started a boarding school for girls at Kamukuzi in 1912.[107] This girls' school was to be the equivalent of Mbarara High School, which, as has been indicated, was initially started for the Bahima boys. Like its counterpart, it remained a predominantly Bahima institution until the 1940s, and was the highest institution of learning for girls in Ankole until 1961. The school was transferred to the CMS mission centre at Ruharo in 1914, so that the women missionaries who would be working in the school could be housed securely at a mission centre.[108] At first it found little difficulty in getting a full enrolment. In the words of Miss Baker, "very soon more children came, and the number added up to the eighteen which we wanted".[109] However, in 1915 the enrolment dropped, and the numbers were so discouraging that Miss Baker contemplated the closure of the school.[110]

Miss Baker learnt that the Bahima were not happy with the school because it was allegedly spoiling the maiden beauty of their daughters, which was essential for finding suitors for marriage towards which every girl aspired. By custom the Bahima girls were confined to the home to be fed and fattened, to be ready for marriage as soon as they were of a marriageable age.[111] A girl's large dimensions were a compliment to her attractiveness, as Miss Baker ironically expressed:

> Besides, the fatter and more inert their daughters are the more beautiful they are in the eyes of their future husbands who will pay ten cows for every fat girl and only one cow for a thin one.[112]

However, the school was subjecting the girls to drill and physical exercises which made them slim and lose their charm. Though her statement was perhaps overlaid with her biases and prejudices against marriage gifts, Miss Baker commented in 1912:

> Drill, jumping and skipping are part of our curriculum, also vegetable diet instead of quarts, not to say gallons, of milk daily; and if possible, teaching them to think, are all really good for them physically and spiritually but it diminishes their value as exchanges for cows.[113]

A second difficulty for the school was that not many girls could afford the fees of fifty rupees a year.[114] In fact, three of the initial intake could not afford the whole of it and Mbaguta paid for them.[115] It should also be noted that the school record of admissions was at its poorest during the First World War when CMS mission work had generally slackened in Uganda.

However, the CMS mission did not drop the school. Poor as it was, the school still signified hope for the ministry of the church among the Banyankore women. In 1915, E. Millar, the secretary to the CMS Uganda Missionary Committee, reported:

> Ankole Boarding School for Girls: this school has always been carried on under difficulties, but we do not wish to drop it, the Banyankore women are not easy to get hold of, and we can do this to some extent by means of their children.[116]

After 1920 the school soon picked up in both numbers and quality. For example, in the report on CMS Uganda Mission Schools of 1924, it was described as "an excellent little boarding school".[117] In 1929, Miss Hogbin, the CMS missionary headmistress of the school, described the school as "very flourishing with more children than ever before";[118] the enrolment had risen to forty-six and eighty in the

boarding and day sections of the school respectively.[119] In the 1930s and 1940s education for girls expanded widely. Many day schools for girls were founded in most parts of Ankole. Wherever a boys' primary school was established, a girls' school was also built at Ibanda, Kinoni, Kabwohe, Kyamate, Rutoma, Rwentanga, Kitagata, Masheruka, Bugamba, Kibatsi, Mitooma and Kyeizooba. Co-educational schools for basic primary education were founded in most parts of Ankole.[120] By 1941 the number of girls in the CMS mission schools in Ankole was not far below that of the boys, the former being 4,127 and the latter 5,072.[121]

The increasing number of primary schools also augmented the number of girls seeking to join the boarding school at Mbarara for further education, and by 1951 there were two hundred and fifty female students at the school.[122] The premises at Mbarara proved unable to cope with expansion on this scale. In addition Miss Kathleen Mawer, the headmistress of the school from 1947 to 1955, was getting increasingly nervous about the moral safety of such a large number of girls with the boys of Mbarara High School next door.[123] The school was moved to the second mission centre to Mbarara, Bweranyangi, in 1952.[124]

In the 1950s the number of girls attending school increased tremendously. For instance, in 1955 Miss N. Chase, Miss Mawer's successor as headmistress of Bweranyangi, told of the endless number of parents doing everything possible to convince her that she should admit their daughters to her school. She wrote:

> At the same time I was being besieged by callers, letters, and notes, from parents who were desperately anxious to get their daughters into this school for the coming year. The need is far greater than the supply, and it needs more than human wisdom to select the right children. Some parents find it very hard to accept the refusal of their children and try every persuasive device they know, and one has to be patient.[125]

In 1955 Bweranyangi was upgraded to become a Junior Secondary School,[126] and in 1961 a Senior Secondary School.[127] By this time its intake had risen to 263.[128] Given the size of Ankole and the fact that some of the students (though admittedly few) were from outside Ankole, these figures appear ridiculously small. Yet the achievement they represent was enormous in terms of what the church could give from her scarce resources, both human and material, to the girls in the way of higher formal education.

On the professional level, a two-year teacher training class for women teachers had been opened at Mbarara in 1928, with eighteen girls on the register.[129] It was run alongside the girls' boarding school. In 1932 the intake was increased to twenty-five.[130] In 1940 the teachers' class gained a full status of a teachers' college, and was named 'Mbarara Teacher Training College'. Miss Dorothy Douglass, a CMS missionary, was appointed principal.[131] In 1955 it joined Kabale Teachers' College for boys at a new site at Kakoba (two and a half miles east of Mbarara) to form a co-educational teachers' college - Bishop Stuart College.[132]

In providing formal education for Banyankore girls the church ultimately did much good in influencing public attitudes to the status of the Banyankore women and in increasing their social functions and privileges. From the start, the church linked formal education for girls with the Christianisation of women in Ankole.[133] Girls' schools were used as an incentive to bring the girls to the church. Elaborating on this role, for example, Mrs. D. Cole, a CMS missionary at Kako, wrote in 1937:

> A school generally means regular attendance at public worship, at any rate during the term, and an increased knowledge of hymns and Bible reading. Good seed is undoubtedly sown and God alone knows how great the increase is.[134]

Mrs. Cole's observation was also true of the girls' schools in Ankole. In fact the girls

who passed out of the teachers' training class to the schools were expected both to teach and engage in evangelistic work; as Canon Bawtree reported in 1936:

> It is not easy to overestimate the importance of the training of these teachers. Many of these bush schools are outposts of the church; so besides requiring skill in teaching children, these teachers need to be women of strong Christian character who can so live that the school children may see how worthwhile it is to follow Jesus Christ.[135]

Schools were also used as a means of undermining the traditional way of life which the church considered a hindrance to its work. Miss Hogbin punished the Bahima girls by beating them if they were found with a veil on their heads in the school compound; because of this practice, the girls nicknamed her *Omukyara Munyaafu* (the lady of the beating stick).[136] In fact, in 1929 Miss Hogbin reported having made a breakthrough in the custom, and wrote:

> But although numbers are still small I feel we are making progress in other ways. For instance it is the custom here for girls of marriageable age to be covered with a voluminous cloth. Until recently no girl leaving school to be married has been brave enough to defy these old customs but this last year two girls from the school have completely discarded them, and may even be seen walking to church with their husbands - an unheard of thing before.[137]

Similarly, at school the girls were taught to disregard the traditional food prohibitions. They were encouraged to eat foods which Ankole society had reserved for men only, that is goat's meat, mutton, and some parts of beef, specifically the tongue and the kidneys. In so doing, schools made women enjoy the same privileges in eating as men. In addition, the girls were reprimanded for speaking in whispers when answering questions in class or performing plays. They were made to speak in loud and clear voices. This was a significant change, considering that it was traditionally considered rude for women to speak in loud voices.[138]

Although the CMS Uganda Mission did not run co-educational schools at the

upper primary levels, it allowed them at the lower levels, before the age of adolescence. In 1935 it was reported that there were "some thirty substandard co-educational schools" in Ankole.[139] In these "sub-standard schools" boys and girls were exposed to the same standard of discipline and activities. Similarly, even the pupils in the single sex schools were occasionally made to meet with the opposite sex "in many ways such as a common school service, social evenings, visiting days and games".[140] Girls and boys in the boarding schools at Mbarara used to have visiting days and special church services on Sundays.[141]

By the 1950s the mission had relaxed its practice of having only single-sex secondary schools. In 1953 Kabale Teachers College for women and Canon Apolo Teacher Training College, Fort Portal for men were transferred to Mbarara and amalgamated into one co-educational college, named after Bishop Stuart who retired that year as the Anglican Bishop of Uganda. G. Hodge, the CMS missionary founder-principal of the college from 1953 to 1966, put a lot of emphasis on integration of sexes in the college.[142] In most of the activities, the college being two-thirds boys and one-third girls, a girl was paired with two boys. Reporting on his work, Hodge wrote in 1957:

> From the beginning, boys and girls have been treated alike, expected to sit together (boy-girl, boy-girl) in class and at meals and expected to share the same jobs. The girls gain self confidence through it.[143]

Schooling also had the effect of influencing public opinion on the status of women. A schoolgirl who had learnt how to read and write, and to speak or murmur a few words in English earned respect in the village, and was numbered among the intelligent and wise. Mrs. Kabogoza of Ishaka recalls that when she was a student at Mbarara Girls' Boarding School in the 1930s, the people in her village used to call

her *Omujungu* (European). This happened also to other students in their respective home villages. The villagers used to come to her home in the evenings seeking help with writing letters or reading those which came to them.[144]

This favourable picture of girls' education needs, however, to be tempered by a consideration of its less constructive aspects. Its ultimate aim was not to prepare girls for professional work, but for domestic work at home, as Uganda's first director of education revealed in 1926:

> What I am quite sure we need not bother about at present is the 'profession' for women, except of course in the line of nurses and teachers, and later lady dressers.[145]

The necessity of producing suitable Christian wives for the Christian leaders in church and government was one important motive in the Uganda Mission girls' schools. As defined in 1925, the curriculum for these schools was divided into three groups. The first part was to consist of "those subjects which are closely connected with the work a woman must do in life and the part she must play", and they were enumerated as: "Infant Welfare, Hygiene, Cooking, Gardening (at present), Housewifery, First Aid, and Mothercraft". The second group was categorised "Formal subjects as needed to help create an intelligent mind". The subjects listed in this group were: "English (less grammar, more speaking), Geography, History and Arithmetic" (not more than enough to calculate for shopping). The third group was Religious education, which was classified and emphasised as a special subject.[146]

Not surprisingly, the expectations of the girls in Ankole were different from those of the missionaries; they wanted a qualification in addition to the domestic duties. They took up what was offered with enthusiasm. According to Miss Hogbin, most of the girls from the boarding school in the 1930s went in for teaching and

nursing.[147] According to Miss Chase, this trend was still observable in the 1950s. After lamenting that most of the girls, including those who did not have a talent for teaching, had made the teachers' colleges their first choice, Miss Chase wrote in 1956:

> I also had to help the girls to decide on their future careers - teaching, nursing or secondary school - and try and get them into the right college, hospital or school.[148]

Professional employment gave the girls and women some economic independence. Some professional women began to buy and own land and houses, and the spectrum of property-owning women expanded to include non-religious women. They also began to make independent decisions on some social issues, such as marriage, on which traditionally they had little voice. Commenting on this development, Miss Hogbin wrote in 1934:

> One change that is having a far reaching effect is that girls as a rule marry later than was formerly the custom. Consequently many on leaving school are prepared to qualify as teachers, nurses, midwives or needle women, and to support themselves for a time before they marry and they expect to have a voice in the choosing of a husband.[149]

In addition, most husbands welcomed the financial contribution of their working wives. Similarly, a lot of women in Ankole kept on working even after marriage. Reviewing the life of her former pupils in 1960, Miss Chase found that most of those who were married were combining working with home keeping. She wrote:

> As in England, more and more married women are continuing to work after marriage so as to get money in the home.[150]

Mrs. Kabogoza, Mrs. Bacwayo and Mrs. Karukiiko, all of whom carried on working during their married life, testified that at the end of every month they would hand in their salaries to their husbands. Rarely did their husbands undertake major

expenditure without consulting them. However, they also revealed that money was always a point of contention between some of the working couples who were their contemporaries. Some wives refused to hand in their money to their husbands, and the husband operated his own budget with his salary, and so did the wife.[151]

6.5 *Okujunwa* among Banyankore Women

As in the field of ethnic relations, *Okujunwa* brought about many changes in the relations of the sexes in Ankole. Reports from the early members of the Revival, such as Mugimba, Mrs. Sabiti and Murumba, suggest that more women than men were attracted to the Revival.[152] According to Catherine Robins, conversion was prompted among women by a set of personal experiences or "life crises", such as widowhood, dissatisfaction with being co-wives, infertility, unwanted marriages and excessive drinking in the home.[153] Robins found that most of the women's testimonies exhibited such a pattern. In some cases, however, the validity of the details of the testimonies in the Revival might well be questioned for, as Robins has also pointed out, most of the testimonies tended to exaggerate the futility of life before conversion.[154] Some Banyankore women told me that they joined the Revival because they wanted to pray and to read the Bible.[155]

Yitzchak Elam suggested that the Revival in Ankole attracted old women, those "rendered sexually unattractive and socially marginal by old age", and that its composition "virtually precludes unmarried girls and young wives".[156] The assertion is not supported by the available evidence. As Robins contended, many of the older generation of women were converted in their youth as girls and young wives.[157] In

fact some girls joined the Revival before their parents did, and were chased away and found refuge at the homes of various elders, particularly Erica Sabiti. Their parents could not tolerate their insistence on individual liberty to attend revival meetings, including mission teams which lasted a number of days. They equally could not entertain the behaviour which accompanied being revived, for example refusing to take part in the family's activities, such as *okunyuka* (beer production).

The Revival made women's spiritual convictions transcend their loyalty to men. As the Mukono incident where the Revivalist students defied the Warden's rules illustrates, the loyalty of the Revivalists was first and foremost to God.[158] Women and their daughters could go to the weekly fellowships against the wishes of their husbands and fathers.

Men and women shared equally in the Revival fellowships, public confessions and preaching. The Revival Movement added a new impetus to the existing category of women preacher-catechists, as it encouraged everyone who joined - man or woman -to preach and witness to those who were still "in the world" (*abomubiri*).[159] A number of women preachers emerged from the Revival in the 1940s and 1950s: V. Nyakaraya, Georgina Nyabusharwa, Tabisa Ruhekura, Leya Barinpemwe, Geraldine Sabiti to mention but a few. As schools introduced the opportunity of speaking in public to the women who had been to school, the Revival movement did the same to all women revivalists regardless of their educational status. In fact, most of the testimonies of the Banyankore women included thanking Jesus for making them able to speak in public.[160] From the 1940s onwards, women freelance preachers clearly preached and testified about Christ's saving power to men, women and children in churches, villages or mission rallies. Miss Nancy Chase, who was the headmistress

of Bweranyangi Girls School from 1955 to 1965, for example, told of the striking and courageous nature of such women and their personal testimonies in her annual letter of 1955. She wrote:

> At another meeting the wife of a saved man told us how the Lord had saved her, and she gave us a dramatic picture of the sort of wife she had been... Her husband was in the meeting, and went across and shook her warmly by the hand, and we praised the Lord.[161]

In addition the Revival inspired women revivalists to violate the food taboos, and share in eating eggs, chicken, goat's meat, mutton and fish, which were traditionally allowed to men but prohibited to women.[162]

The Revival also increased women's participation in decision making in marriage. From the pioneer period Anglican Christianity had insisted on replacing traditional marriage by 'Christian marriage'. It emphasised the consent of the two partners instead of the sanction of the two families. Even those partners who had had a traditional marriage underwent a full church wedding ceremony after baptism.[163] Christians were taught to avoid superstitious practices but apart from the wedding in the church Christians continued to contract their marriages almost in the same manner as the traditionalists.[164] Marriage continued to be seen as a union of two families, rather than a contract between two individuals.

The Revival rejected the traditional trappings in the marriage contract and promoted the idea of partnership between husband and wife. On the day of their wedding the bride and groom stood up and gave testimonies. Mrs. Dolosiya Kituna told me that on her wedding day in 1942 she stood up in *ekidaara* (a shade constructed in the compound for holding ceremonies), confessed her sins of apprehension about her new role as a wife and told her in-laws that she would not entertain them in the traditional manner.[165]

In addition to married life, the *abeishemwe* husband and wife called each other 'brother' and 'sister'. Husbands began voluntarily to take part in domestic chores such as cooking, fetching water, washing and bathing children, which were considered women's duties. They shunned the traditional means of resolving marriage problems: quarrelling, resort to alcohol, separation and divorce. Husband and wife shared their problems in their testimonies and confessions both in their own homes and in the team meetings.

To conclude this chapter on the impact of Anglican Christianity on gender relations in Ankole, it must, of course, be emphasised that there were other influences on the subject, such as colonial rule and Roman Catholic Christianity. The latter started schools for girls, and admitted many Banyankore girls into sisterhoods, a vocation which ran counter to the traditional woman's obligation of getting married and producing children.[166]

Colonial rule undermined the traditional sexual division of roles. It turned most of the adult male population in Ankole into migrant labourers in Buganda and Busoga. Most of these men laboured for a short period of time to secure the money for government taxes and for limited cash needs, and returned home. At work they participated in jobs traditionally set aside for women, while at home their wives undertook traditionally male responsibilities of maintaining the household.

The colonial administration also created the Uganda Council for Women in 1947. The Council aimed at uniting women to work together to "safeguard and improve family life, encourage women to understand the demands of citizenship in modern African society".[167] This council organised clubs for women throughout the country. In Ankole the clubs were introduced in 1949 and established at all the

sub-county centres.[168]

Despite these influences, it can be argued that the impact of Anglican Christianity was distinctive. It freed Bahima women from the confines of seclusion, and gave women access to public life. Some women were enabled to earn a new economic importance which gave them a say in decision making about matters in which they had never before been involved. A new partnership and division of labour emerged between husband and wife, particularly if the two were *abeishemwe*. In the Revival women could talk and be listened to in the same way as men.

Studies of other African societies, including Nigeria and Ghana, have observed a radical attack on male-dominated areas of traditional life by women inspired by Christianity.[169] Although Ankole did not experience such an open confrontation, the significance of the condemnation of polygamy by the church, and the Mothers' Union in particular, should not be underestimated.

In some African societies, the decline of polygamy gave rise to serious social evils for the women and their communities. It has been observed, for example, that when polygamy weakened among the Kikuyu, the number of unmarried mothers rose, and too many girls started loitering in villages and towns.[170] Nothing to this degree occurred among the Banyankore. In the 1950s, however, there were a few instances of women remaining single. Most of them are said to have stayed at their fathers' or brothers' homes, and were sometimes a source of instability in the marriages of their brothers.

It must be stressed that the Christian contribution to gender relations in Ankole was an ambiguous one. Although Anglican Christianity promoted the emancipation of women in society, the church assumed that its central decision making and

leadership were properly the monopoly of men. It is clear that in the traditional religious life the Banyankore women had enjoyed high positions of leadership as diviners, mediums and herbalists. Some women had earned themselves high repute as consultants in religious matters, and counsellors in family matters. Missionary Christianity, on the other hand, excluded women from recognised leadership in religious life, and hence introduced assumptions of male pre-eminence in the one area in which traditional society had given distinctive prerogatives to women.

Nevertheless, it is not difficult to substantiate the claim that Anglican Christianity contributed a great deal to changing the roles of men and women in Ankole, to the advantage of women. The same elements in Anglican Christianity which influenced change in ethnic relations also proved to be powerful agents for change in gender relations in Ankole - elements such as corporate life in the church, the impact of mission education and the Revival movement.

Notes - Chapter 6

1. Minutes of Ladies Missionary Committee, 4 August 1915, CMSA.
2. Tuma, 'Church expansion in Uganda', in Tuma and Mutibwa (eds), *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*, p.23.
3. Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, p.157.
4. *Ibid.*, p.47.
5. *Ibid.*, p.179.
6. *Ibid.*, p.156.
7. M.L. Pirouet, 'Women missionaries of the Church Missionary Society in Uganda', in Christensen and Hutchison (eds), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1800-1920*, 1982, p.231.
8. See B. Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England* (Oxford 1988).
9. Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, pp.231-2.
10. Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, p.156.
11. *Ibid.*, p.171.
12. *Ibid.*, p.177.
13. Kamugungunu and Kataate, *Abagabe B'Ankole*, Ekitabo II, p.14.
14. Clayton annual letter, 11 December 1902, CMSA.
15. Willis annual letter, 29 October 1901, CMSA.
16. Clayton to parents, 16 November 1901.
17. Ruth Hurditch to Miss Jenkins, 16 February 1902, CMSA.
18. Hurditch to Jenkins, 16 February 1902, CMSA.
19. Clayton to parents, 13 May 1902.
20. Willis annual letter, 30 October 1902, CMSA.
21. Clayton annual letter, 11 December 1902, CMSA.
22. Clayton to parents, 13 May 1902.

23. Clayton annual letter, 11 December 1902, CMSA.

24. Clayton (Mrs.) to parents, 5 August 1904. Mrs. Hilda Clayton enjoyed an intimate working relationship with Mrs. Hannah Kagaye, and in many of her reports she referred to her as "My dear old Hanna Kageye".

25. Attlee annual letter, 26 November 1904, CMSA.

26. Attlee annual letter, 26 November 1904, CMSA.

27. Baker annual letter, 22 November 1905, CMSA.

28. Baker annual letter, 16 November 1908, CMSA.

29. Baker annual letter, 22 November 1908, CMSA.

30. Combs annual letter, November 1907, CMSA.

31. 'The story of Isaza and Bukuku' and 'The story of Nyamata and Isimbwa'. The two stories associate the origins of the Banyankore with acts of hospitality.

32. J.V. Taylor, *The Primal Vision* (London 1963), pp.17-19; interview: D. Rwamuhare.

33. Clayton annual letter, 8 November 1903.

34. Robinson annual letter, October 1907, CMSA.

35. Clayton (Mrs.) annual letter, Mbarara, 1911, CMSA.

36. M.T. Baker, 'Manners and customs of the Bahima', in *Uganda Notes*, June 1905.

37. Tucker, *Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa*, p.331.

38. Missionary records are generally silent on most of the local issues from the 1920s onwards.

39. Interview: E. Bakamwanga, S. Katikuzi, E. Karutija.

40. Baker, 'Manners and customs of the Bahima'.

41. cf. 1 Cor. 11:5-6.

42. Grace Akello, 'Self twice-removed: Ugandan women', typescript, School of Oriental and African Studies, Library, p.9.

43. B.C. Ray, *African Religions* (New Jersey 1976), p.3.

44. Clayton annual letter, 30 November 1906, CMSA.

45. Baker annual letter, 22 November 1905, CMSA.

46. *Uganda Notes*, January 1907, p.2, Makerere University Library.

47. Clayton annual letter, 2 December 1909, CMSA.

48. Clayton (Mrs.) annual letter, Mbarara, 1911, CMSA.

49. 'Letter' was the name given to the certificate which was given to the lay workers in the church. There were three certificates (letter) - First Letter, Second Letter, Third Letter - before the Ordination Certificate.

50. Interview: K. Shalita.

51. Uganda Mission CMS Statistics for the year ending September 1916, CMSA.

52. Ladbury to Manley, 'The Uganda Mission CMS Annual Report, 1922', typescript, CMSA.

53. Hogbin, 'Mbarara Girls' Boarding School, Ankole, report for the year ending 30 June 1929', typescript, CMSA.

54. Ankole Deanery Council Minute Book, 1950, Ruharo Cathedral.

55. Letter, Miss E.R. Brittain to Rev. E. Millar, 30 November 1915, CMSA.

56. Clayton (Mrs.) to parents, 12 April 1910.

57. Snell, *Annual Report of the CMS for the year 1924-5*, p.67.

58. Resolutions of the Third Diocesan Synod of the Church of Uganda, 13-16 July 1909, CMSA.

59. Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England*, p.91.

60. Clayton (Mrs.) annual letter, 1911, CMSA.

61. Baker, annual letter, 15 October 1910, CMSA.

62. Clayton, annual letter, 1 December 1909.

63. Interview: G. Nyakaraya, N. Bishaka.

64. Interview: G. Nyakaraya, N. Bishaka.

65. Rowlings to Manley, 26 April 1920, CMSA.

66. Bishop Stuart to Rev. H.D. Hooper, 11 April 1935, CMSA.

67. C.P. Williams, 'The missing link', typescript, pp.30-1. Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England*, p.6.

68. Kasenene, 'African traditional region in Ankole', in Occasional Research Papers, 15, 1972, p.67.

69. Interview: I. Kafureka, Eseza Buntu, L. Tibesasa.

70. Interview: I. Kafureka, Eseza Buntu, L. Tibesasa.

71. *Uganda Notes*, May 1905, Makerere University Library.

72. NAC Ankole Deanery Teachers' Record, 1948-51, Ruharo Cathedral.

73. As already mentioned, there were three certificates for the NAC workers before the ordained ministry, categorised as 'First', 'Second' and 'Third' Letters.

74. Interview: K. Shalita.

75. Bamonoba, 'Notes on diviners for the Bagabe', Occasional Research Papers, 29, 1 (1965), p.96.

76. Clarke, annual letter, 4 November 1933, Ruharo Cathedral.

77. Interview: R. Ruhekura, D. Kituna.

78. Kasenene, 'African traditional religion in Ankole', p.62.

79. E. Isichei, 'Does Christianity empower Women? The Case of the Anaguta of Central Nigeria', typescript, p.18.

80. Stenning, 'Salvation in Ankole', p.274.

81. Weatherhead (Mrs.), 'The Mothers' Union and how it may benefit Baganda women', papers read at the Women's conference at Namirembe, 7-8 July 1908, CMSA.

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*

84. Baker, annual letter, 17 November 1909, CMSA.

85. Interview: Miss M. Clayton, the daughter of Herbert Clayton.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Baker, annual letter, 15 October 1910, CMSA.

88. Lewin, annual letter, 5 December 1929, CMSA.

89. Interview: M. Clayton, J. Muhoozi, G. Sabiti, B. Bacwayo.

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Ibid.*

92. *Ibid.*

93. Mrs. Weatherhead, 'The Mothers' Union and how it may benefit Baganda women'.

94. Cf. P. Campbell, 'Presbyterian West African missions: women as converts and agents of social change', *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 52, 1978, p.123.

95. Minutes of the Missionary Committee, Uganda CMS Mission, 5 March 1913, CMSA.

96. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p.184.

97. *Ibid.*, p.184.

98. Interview: T. Rujagata, D. Rwamuhare.

99. *Ibid.*

100. Edward S. Daniell to Hooper, 4 February 1930, CMSA.

101. Edward S. Daniell to Hooper. 4 February 1930, CMSA.

102. Cole (Mrs.), 'Report on the Mothers' Union in Uganda for the year 1936', Namirembe Cathedral.

103. Herbert (Mrs.) to Miss M. Clayton, 3 October 1944, Namirembe Cathedral.

104. Minutes of the Ankole Rural Deanery Council, 4 August 1948, Ruharo Cathedral.

105. Interview: S. Katikuzi.

106. F.C. Steady, 'The role of women in the churches in Freetown, Sierra Leone', in E. Fashole-Luke, R. Gray, A. Hastings and G. Tasie (eds), *Christianity in Independent Africa* (London 1978), pp.151-163.

107. Baker, annual letter, 11 November 1912, CMSA.

108. Lewin, annual letter, 30 October 1914, CMSA.

109. Baker, annual letter, 11 November 1912, CMSA.

110. Minutes of the CMS Uganda Mission Missionary Committee, 4 February 1915, CMSA.

111. Kamugungunu and Kataate, *Abagabe B'Ankole*, p.4.

112. Baker, annual letter, 11 November 1912, CMSA.

113. *Ibid.*

114. Uganda Notes and Diocesan Gazettes, January 1915, p.278, Makerere University Library.

115. Baker, annual letter, 11 November 1912, CMSA.

116. Letter, E. Millar to G.T. Manley, 15 February 1915, CMSA.

117. G.H. Williams, 'Education in Uganda', typescript, 4 December 1924, CMSA.

118. Hogbin, 'Mbarara Girls' Boarding School, Ankole', Report for the year ending 30 June 1929, typescript, CMSA.

119. *Ibid.*

120. NAC Schools Ankole National Council Record Book, 1933-50, Ruharo Cathedral.

121. NAC Schools Ankole National Council Record Book, 1933-50, Ruharo Cathedral.

122. Mawer, 'Mbarara Girls' Boarding School, Ankole', Report, 1950, typescript, Ruharo Cathedral.

123. Interview: C. Pain. Pain was Miss Mawer's contemporary at Mbarara. According to Pain, Miss Mawer held an austere moral view, and did not want to see any of her girls standing with a boy. She belonged to the CMS Ruanda Mission, and in 1949 she joined the *Balokore* Revival. According to the logbook (1948-9) of the school, in the same year she dismissed two teachers because of low moral standards. She also imported two teachers who were members of the Revival to come and restore the school.

124. Mawer, 'Mbarara Girls' Boarding School, Ankole', Report, 1952, typescript, Ruharo Cathedral. The school changed its name and became 'Bweranyangi Boarding Girls' School'.

125. Chase, circular letter among relatives and friends, 18 March 1956.

126. *Ibid.*, 13 February 1955.

127. *Ibid.*, 22 December 1961.

128. *Ibid.*, 22 December 1961.

129. Lewin, annual letter, 1928, CMSA.

130. Clarke, annual letter, 1932, CMSA.

131. Clarke, annual report, 1940, Ruharo Cathedral.

132. Hodge, circular letter, 1955, Teachers' College, Kibingo, Mbarara, the new premises for Bishop Stuart College.

133. Letter, Millar to Manley, 15 February 1915, CMSA.

134. Cole (Mrs.), annual letter, 1937, CMSA.

135. Bawtree, Annual letter, 1936, CMSA.

136. 'Bweranyangi and Mbarara Girls' School, 1912-61', typescript, Bweranyangi.

137. Hogbin, annual report, 1929, CMSA.

138. Interview: N. Bishaka, Y. Kabogoza, R. Kamya, G. Sabiti.

139. 'Detailed description of present educational activities', 1935, typescript, CMSA.

140. 'Report on girls' education in Uganda', 1927 typescript, IMCA.

141. Kabogoza later became a member of the staff at her former school, 1939-49. Then she was known by her maiden name of Yemima Ntungerisho.

142. Hodge, circular letter to friends, 1954, Teachers' College, Kibingo.

143. Hodge, circular letter to friends, 1957, Kibingo.

144. Interview: Kabogoza.

145. E.R.J. Hussey to Oldham, Kampala, 2 May 1926, IMCA.

146. 'Education of girls - Uganda', typescript, IMCA.

147. Hogbin annual report, 1938, CMSA.

148. Chase, circular letter to friends, 18 March 1956.

149. Hogbin, annual report, 1938, CMSA.

150. Chase, circular letter to friends, 27 April 1960.

151. Interview: Y. Kabogoza, B. Bacwayo, G. Sabiti.

152. *Ibid.*

153. Robins, 'Conversion, life crises and stability among women in the East African Revival', p.197.

154. *Ibid.*, p.199.

155. Interview: N. Bishaka, F. Beyaka.

156. Elam, *The Social and Sexual Roles of Hima Women*, p.215.

157. Robins, 'Conversion, life crises and stability', p.199.

158. Ward, 'Obedient rebels'.

159. Interview: G. Sabiti, E. Karutija.

160. *Ibid.*

161. Chase, circular letter to family and friends, 13 February 1955.

162. Robins, 'Tukutendereza', p.250; Robins, 'Conversion, life crises and stability', p.200.

163. Couples who were already married according to traditional custom were shown in marriage registers as having been married as such.

164. Interview: B. Mubangizi, J. Kanaura.

165. Interview: D. Kituna.

166. A community of the *Banabikira*, the 'little sisters', was established in Ankole, at Kyabirikwa in Isingiro in 1953.

167. Grace Akello, 'Self twice-removed: Ugandan women', typescript, p.10.

168. D.C. annual report for 1949, Mbarara Archives. The clubs taught cookery, housewifery, dress-making, child care and welfare.

169. E. Isichei, 'Does Christianity empower women? The case of the Anaguta of Central Nigeria', typescript, pp.29-30.

170. S. Bottignole, *Kikuyu Traditional Culture and Christianity* (Nairobi 1984), p.126.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

THE IMPACT OF ANGLICAN CHRISTIANITY ON ETHNIC AND GENDER RELATIONS IN ANKOLE

During the six decades with which this study is concerned, ethnic and gender relations in Ankole underwent drastic changes, most of which were deeply influenced by the impact of Anglican Christianity. At the beginning of the period, in 1901, the Ankole region was divided into a number of small semi-autonomous kingdoms occupied by two ethnic groups - the pastoral Bahima and the agricultural Bairu. The two shared a rigid pattern of social stratification: the minority pastoral Bahima dominated and exploited the agricultural Bairu. This pattern of domination was deeply ingrained in their social, political and religious traditions, political leadership being exclusively in the hands of the Bahima, as was wealth, which was measured in terms of cattle. This image of Bahima supremacy and Bairu inferiority had also been skilfully connected to the stories about the origins of the two groups, and was also perpetuated through the educational system.

Within this framework of ethnic inequality the position of the Bahima and Bairu women was more or less the same. Although the Bahima women often used their ethnic supremacy to obtain free services from the Bairu women, both groups of women enjoyed fewer privileges and a lesser social status than their men, as was generally the case in most African societies. Women were prohibited from eating most of the foods that the men enjoyed, and were passed on with their children as part

of the inheritance, like land or any other property. With the exception of the religious sphere, where women also held high positions of leadership, they did not enjoy equal participation in public life with men, the Bahima women leading a life of seclusion; nor did they take the essential decisions concerning the home. Polygamy, being an acceptable form of traditional marriage, meant that the status of individual wives was diminished.

By the end of the period, in 1961, the situation was remarkably different: the domination of the Bairu by the Bahima had declined and the established rigid sexual divisions of labour were no longer strictly adhered to. There was a large measure of equality of opportunity in the spheres of political, economic and social advancement open to both the Bairu and the Bahima, despite the fact that some Bahima still enjoyed the benefits of inherited wealth and status. The ethnic cultural differences and prohibitions in eating habits, and the ban on intermarriage between the Bairu and the Bahima were dying out. The only significant cultural barrier which remained in force was the inability of both the Bairu and the Bahima to forget their ancient ethnic feelings.

Professional women also had access to public life and earned a monthly salary equal to that of men with the same qualification in a similar post; however, in the remote rural areas the position of most women had not changed all that much. Although women were not given executive powers in the administration of the church, they were swelling church-membership and deliberating with men in church councils and committees, and sharing in pulpit ministry. At home, the division of labour between husband and wife was increasingly becoming less rigid, particularly among the *abeishemwe* and the professional class.

This thesis has argued that Anglican Christianity was a powerful force in the re-ordering of these ethnic and gender relations in Ankole. According to Doornbos, Anglican Christianity, which he calls Protestantism (its common name in Uganda) helped merely to substitute one elite for another, enabling the Bairu to get access to benefits formerly held by the Bahima.[1] Doornbos contended, secondly, that Christianity became an additional divisive element in Ankole, and was responsible for prolonging the ethnic inequality between the Bairu and Bahima.[2] However, Doornbos's arguments are less compelling when looked at in the Ankole context. As has been shown in chapter five, the Church's enabling of the Bairu to take a part in leadership was not a case of substituting one monopoly for another but of the breaking of the Bahima domination.

A more serious accusation made by Doornbos was the contention that Christianity became another divisive element. However, the new confines of denominational Christianity - which separated Roman Catholics from Protestants - increasingly obliterated the traditional boundaries, making it possible for the Bahima and the Bairu to join together in the new *dini* (religion). This was particularly true in the case of Anglican Christianity, which brought the two groups together in the same church.

Although during the pioneer period up to the 1930s Anglican Christianity supported Bahima domination, and the church's central administrative structure continued to be dominated by the Bahima, it was, at the same time, unleashing forces that gradually weakened social stratification. In the first place there was the general influence of Christian teaching and worship. By its life and ministry the church contained several revolutionary elements which challenged, gradually modified, and ultimately undermined the social stratification between the Bairu and the Bahima and

the rigid distinction between the role of men and women, thus creating the need for a different type of relationship. The Anglican mission, and the church it founded, embraced both the Bairu and the Bahima and also men and women without distinction; all participated in common congregational worship and in church councils and committees. Despite the fact that the Bahima possessed a status second only to the missionaries, the Bairu were allowed to engage in full-time church work. In fact, from the 1930s onwards, it was they who provided the majority of teachers in schools and of catechists and ordained clergy; moreover, the Bahima had accepted them in their new role as the instructors in the newly introduced wisdom and way of living.

A second equalizing force was the willingness of the Anglican missionaries to rest content with making the final decisions at the top, and to allow a broad-based church governmental structure at the local levels by the use of church councils and committees. These councils and committees enabled the Bairu and the Bahima, and men and women, to meet and exchange ideas about building their church on an equal basis. It seems the councils and committees also cultivated the principles of giving, receiving and sharing among all the members.

The mission schools were a third equalizing force of considerable power. Although these schools had aimed for almost a quarter of a century at equipping the sons of the Bahima to take up positions of leadership both in government and in the church, they did not debar the Bairu children from attending, and from the 1940s onwards Bairu children flocked to these schools. This massive schooling of the Bairu added a momentum to the evolving Bahima-Bairu relations. Mission education gave every school girl or boy the same experience, irrespective of whether he or she was a Mwiru or a Muhima. In all the schools, the Bahima and Bairu pupils underwent the

same process: they assembled, prayed, played, sang, and studied together.

Going to school provided Banyankore girls with an opportunity to break the confinement of the homestead. In terms of conscious intention it is quite true, as has been shown in chapter six, that mission education for girls in Ankole was for purposes of 'domestication'; at first Mbarara Boarding School for Girls aimed at producing Christian brides and housewives for the boys from Mbarara High School. Nevertheless, the implication of this education in Ankole became wider than the missionaries had intended. By 1953, the syllabus was still inclined towards to domesticity, but the expectation of most girls was not merely to go in for marriage after their formal education but also to enter the professional field, which, however, was still limited mainly to teaching and nursing.

Above all, at school all the pupils were exposed to Christian values. Mission schools were committed to presenting a Christian philosophy of education; all school activities and life were ordered in accordance with the aim of communicating Christian virtues. These schools raised new expectations about gender and ethnic relations based on Christian principles, which the pupils took with them on leaving school. The female recipients of CMS education hoped for partnership in marriage, and its Bairu products for equal employment opportunities and social status outside school. As we have seen in chapter five, the formation of the *Kumanyana* movement by these Bairu graduates from the CMS schools was not merely a means of getting access to benefits formerly held by the Bahima but a protest against all forms of Bahima domination. Similarly, the formation of political parties in the years preceding national political independence was also influenced by the ethnic question.

The Balokole Revival movement was a fourth and most important factor.

From the beginning Anglican Christianity created a new group of believers, who could be distinguished from the non-believers, a distinction which was not possible in traditional Ankole society where religious and ethnic identities were inseparable. However, before the Revival, Christianity had made relatively little progress in weakening the assumption of the priority of ethnic allegiance; until the 1930s Bahima and Bairu Christians still recognised themselves as possessing two identities - they belonged to their ethnic groupings first, and to the church second. From the time it began in the 1930s, the Revival movement stood very visibly for the principles of Christian brotherhood and fellowship and directly challenged that belief. Its emphasis on the need for a radical personal experience of conversion, which was expected to lead into repentance, confession and into a new community of the revived, did not permit the holding of ethnic loyalties beyond the boundaries of Christian fellowship.

As was shown in chapter four, the *abeishemwe* were anti-hierarchical in nature, and their loyalty was first and foremost to God.They particularly disregarded the traditional taboos about diet and association between the Bairu and Bahima, and also disregarded the rigid distinction between men's and women's roles. Being a *mulokole* meant parting with tradition and with lukewarm Christianity, and entering into a fellowship that acknowledged a common brotherhood and sisterhood in God, in which the members called one another *abeishemwe* (brothers and sisters). Social integration was part of being a member in the *abeishemwe* fellowship, because the revived individual was not only concerned about the quality of his or her own life, but also about the quality of fellowship experienced among the company of the revived; all the *abeishemwe* were expected to submit to the will of the weekly fellowship equally. In the fellowship and team meetings the members learnt from one another

how to improve their standard of living; and women had the same opportunity to speak and to preach and to be given attention, an experience that most *abeishemwe* carried with them to their homes, whereby a better division of labour and sharing between husband and wife also emerged.

Studies from other parts of East Africa have commented on the impact of the Revival on society. Linden's study of Rwanda, the Revival's principal country of origin, did not give it a significant role, but rather gave credit to the impact of the "principles of social catholicism".[3] However, Linden noted that the *Abaka* movement, as the Revival was known in Rwanda, was the first resistance outlet against the Batutsi domination.[4] More recently, Osborn has claimed that the Revival *in Rwanda did in fact create deep fellowship* between the Batutsi and Bahutu.[5] However, the Revival in Rwanda, unlike that in Ankole, did not influence the greater part of Rwandan society which was distinctively Roman Catholic, as it is clear that the Revival did not thrive in predominantly Roman Catholic areas.

Nevertheless, studies from elsewhere in East Africa where the Revival had a good following have shown that it was a powerful force for social integration. Commenting on its impact on women, Sundkler asserted:

> Revival has lifted hundreds of African women and given them a new role, a new sense of personal worth. I do not know of any other factor in East Africa which to that extent has served to emphasize equality between sexes.[6]

In Kenya the Revival particularly tried to bridge the gap between the Europeans and Africans. Writing in 1954, amidst the bitter conflicts of the Mau Mau, one European observer stated:

> We tend, I think, to underestimate the hatred of European that is so widespread among Africans in Kenya, and it is a humbling and moving experience to be approached by an African brother who comes to

> apologize for having had this hatred, from which the Lord has now cleansed him.[7]

According to Sundkler's study of the Bahaya of Bukoba, Tanzania, the Revival forged a new 'clan of Christ', extending a family kinship-like relationship among all its adherents.[8]

How can this impact of Anglican Christianity on Ankole's ethnic and gender relations be evaluated? To do so one has to place this evaluation within the social political context of Ankole during the sixty-year period. As has been shown in chapter one the introduction and spread of Anglican Christianity in Ankole coincided with the establishment of British rule, which initiated a number of political changes that gradually weakened the political power of the Bahima and raised up the Bairu in the political machinery. Although the British administration, by operating on the principles of indirect rule, initially entrenched Bahima domination in the distribution of political power and wealth, eventually it also regulated the power of the Bahima chiefs, opened the posts of chiefs to competition on the basis of capability and achievement, and broadened the political base in Ankole, particularly after the Second World War. These policies eventually altered the Kingdom's political structure, allowed many Bairu into the Kingdom's administration and supported them to offices which had been exclusively held by the Bahima.

Similarly, the British colonial economy, though it exploited both groups, in the long run favoured the Bairu and held the Bahima at a disadvantage. It introduced alternative sources of wealth other than cattle, which were being monopolised by the Bahima. By establishing its political control through encouraging settlement in one place, and impeding freedom of movement, which was imperative to the Bahima's traditional livestock production, the British administration adversely affected the

Bahima economy. In addition, the introduction of the cash economy, the promotion of crop production, and the emphasis on the growing of coffee and groundnuts as the 'viable export crops' served to weaken the Bahima's economic power. Cash crops helped the Bairu to acquire modern goods, and also cattle, and to send their children to school, an exercise in which they quickly surpassed the Bahima.

The British regime and economy also had a profound effect on the relations of men and women. The enforced exodus (as a result of tax demands) of the *Banyankore* men to the central region of Buganda and Busoga as migrant workers caused much physical hardship and emotional trauma to both men and women, and also undermined the traditional sex-division of roles. Similarly, in the monetary economy women acquired new economic status, their private earnings enabling some of them to have a higher level of economic independence and mobility than was possible in traditional society. Furthermore, as has been shown in chapter six, the British administration, after the Second World War, worked towards raising the position of Ugandan women, founding in 1947 the Uganda Council of Women which tried to organize women's clubs at the sub-county level throughout the country including Ankole.

Although studies of other African societies have indicated that western colonialism had a far-reaching impact on Africa's social fabric, the consequences identified by scholars were not so much societal integration as stratification. For example, in his comparative study of the colonial impact on the societal and regional integration of African states, John Peel argued that the colonial system did not reduce but rather promoted social stratification in African states:

> The colonial period also introduced altogether new kinds of social relations, especially those between employer and wage- or salary-

> earner. And it transformed, where it did not introduce, relations between officials and subjects. Hence developed the beginnings of a national system of social stratification.[9]

To some extent this was also true of Ankole, but the newly introduced stratification through the British administration and economy was flexible and allowed for social mobility among both Bairu and Bahima. As has been shown in chapter five, Bairu of humble and despised origins, such as Z.C. Mungonya and Kesi Nganwa, rose to occupy some of the highest offices in Ankole, including membership of the Legislative Council. In fact, the new stratification had the effect of upsetting the traditional Bairu-Bahima relations because it ranked the Bairu and the Bahima together.

Although it is difficult to separate the influence of Anglican Christianity from the political and economic changes that affected ethnic and gender relations in Ankole, it was a distinctive factor in the re-ordering of these relations. A similar role for Christianity in creating new social formations has been recognised in other parts of Africa. For instance, Monica Wilson wrote in 1969:

> Acceptance of Christian teaching implied a radical change in the manner of life of converts; the Christian gospel has been a yeast fermenting change in societies for two thousand years. The writing of the vernacular, the translation of the Bible, and teaching converts to read it (which the Protestant missionaries saw as fundamental to their mission) was in itself revolutionary. Family relations and the political structure were radically changed by the condemnation of polygamy, and the insistence that death was not caused by witches.[10]

The potential for Christian influence has been particularly noted with reference to gender relations:

> If the change in social relationships between men and women is to be the greatest world revolution of the twentieth century, altering the nature of human relationships more profoundly than the Russian or Chinese revolutions or even the emergence of the Third World, then the churches in Africa are uniquely placed to take a major part in this.[11]

Studies from many parts of Africa have argued for the importance of Christianity in liberating women from many of the traditional constraints regarding their social status in African societies.[12] Such studies have not concealed the ambivalence of the Christian impact in integrating women into the new African societies,[13] though they show that it was more effective in terms of liberation than domination. Isichei's comment on this impact on the Anaguta women of Nigeria succinctly summarizes this position:

> But it seems to be much more generally true in Africa that women experienced Christianity as empowering. It gave them a place on which to stand, from which they could bypass or challenge male-dominated sacred worlds. Truth is always complex, however, and sometimes Christianity paved the way to new forms of marginalisation.[14]

Similarly, Ian Linden examined the impact of the Roman Catholic Church in Rwanda on the ethnic divisions between the Bahutu and the Batutsi,[15] and held that "social catholicism" and "the egalitarian themes of basic Christianity overcame the powerful symbols of kingship and hierarchy".[16] However, the Rwandan case presents a contrast with that of Ankole, and not merely because the former was characterised mainly by Roman Catholic Christianity and the latter by Anglicanism. In Rwanda Christianity inspired a Bahutu revolt against the Batutsi,[17] whereas in Ankole it promoted peaceful accommodation between the Bairu and the Bahima.

In Ankole, whilst the Roman Catholic Church grew up at the same time as the Anglican Church and was an important influence in the socio-political changes which took place in Ankole, it was not as effective as the Anglican Church in bridging the gap between the Bairu and the Bahima. This was partly because its organisational structure provided little opportunity for the two groups to come together physically. As has been shown in chapter two, from the beginning the Roman Catholic Church

ignored the Bahima, and few Bahima, if any, were converted to it. It was a predominantly Bairu church, and its schools attracted Bairu pupils. Furthermore, the administrative structure of the Roman Catholic Church did not allow as much freedom to the laity to exercise leadership and to participate actively in church affairs. In the period before the Second Vatican Council (1962-5) church councils and committees were not a feature in the Roman Catholic Church, and authority in the church descended in a hierarchical structure from Pope to bishop to priest. In addition, in contrast to the Anglican Church in Ankole, the Roman Catholic Church was not a socially 'modernising' influence. Unlike the former, it did not emphasize cleanliness and smartness at Sunday worship.

Anglican Christianity, therefore, in relation to all the social changes that were taking place in Ankole, was a potent element in ethnic and gender integration. It seems clear that missionary teaching accorded with the traditional Western understanding of gender roles in making the man the unquestionable authority in the home, and in equipping women for domestic duties, to make them good Christian wives and mothers. It could be pointed out, additionally, that the missionaries did not make any real attempt to support women in their struggle for inheritance of land and property. Nevertheless, they readily advocated a measure of change in gender relations. They openly opposed the seclusion and veiling of Bahima women, and gave explicit teaching in marriage counselling about the partnership of husband and wife, and also supported women against polygamy.

However, missionary teaching on the subject of ethnic equality appears to have been virtually absent, from both schools and churches. None of my informants reported that they had received any explicit teaching from the missionaries about

better ethnic relations between the Bairu and the Bahima. Thus even if the missionaries did give explicit teaching on the subject, it seems that such teaching failed to impress itself upon the memory of the people. Although the church held within its membership both the Bairu and the Bahima, it seems to have made little attempt to increase ethnic equality outside the boundaries of the church. In addition, most missionaries were less keen on social equality with their Ugandan fellow workers, though there were a few shining examples of missionaries who readily identified with African aspirations. A good number of these were members of the Revival movement. As was shown in chapter four, the missionaries who joined the Revival entered into deep fellowship with the Ugandan Christians. These few, however, were those of independent mind, led by their theological convictions to discount racial and social categories, and as Pirouet indicated, they did not receive organisational support within the Anglican mission.[18]

It should be observed that the extent of social change in the sphere of gender relations - to which the missionaries devoted specific attention - was significantly less than that which took place in the sphere of ethnic relations - a subject on which the missionaries appear to have been silent. The point to be noted here is that the impact which Anglican Christianity made in dismantling social stratification in Ankole was not the result of conscious effort on the part of its overseers, the missionaries, but was rather the consequence of the appropriation by Bairu and Bahima of that Christianity for themselves. Through the teaching of the Church, Bible reading, the shared experience of worship, participation in church councils and committees, attendance at mission schools, and through the distinctive message of the Revival, the Bairu and the Bahima heard the 'unintended' call to end their ethnic social stratification. Recent

studies of the Church in Africa have shown that Christianity during the pioneer period in Africa "was never synonymous with the missionaries' understanding of the faith",[19] and did not necessarily follow the course intended by the missionaries. Rather it was also influenced by "the longstanding spiritual needs of African societies".[20] The new common identity that Christian Bairu and Bahima acquired through mission schools, participation in church life, and above all through the new community of the revival fellowship, made the old rigid social strata difficult to maintain, and called for the re-definition of social structure within an alternative society and community.

In short, Evangelical Anglican Christianity in Ankole was a distinctive element, which elicited an autonomous response from the people and facilitated the creation of a new community among Bairu and Bahima Christians, a community that increasingly saw its ethnic and gender relations in a new perspective.

Notes - Chapter 7

1. Doornbos, *Not All the King's Men*, p.87.
2. *Ibid.*, p.95.
3. Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, p.273.
4. *Ibid.*, p.211.
5. Osborn, *Fire in the Hills*, p.48.
6. Bengt Sundkler, 'Worship and spirituality' in Gray, Fashole-Luke, Hastings and Tasie (eds), *Christianity in Independent Africa*, p.551.
7. N. Langford Smith, 'Revival in East Africa', in IRM, XLII, 1954 (77-81), p.80.
8. Sundkler, *Bara Bukoba, Church and Community in Tanzania*, p.122.
9. J.D.Y. Peel, 'Social change and cultural change', in Michael Crowder (ed), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol.8 (Cambridge 1984), (142-187), p.143.
10. Wilson, 'Co-operation and conflict: the Eastern Cape Frontier', in M. Wilson and L. Thomson (eds), *South Africa to 1870*, I, Oxford, 1969, p.266.
11. Fashole-Luke, Gray, Hastings and Tasie (eds), *Christianity in Independent Africa*, p.13.
12. Catherine Robins, 'Conversion, life crises and stability', p.185.
13. M.L. Swantz, 'Church and the changing role of women in Tanzania', in Fashole-Luke, Gray, Hastings and Tasie (eds), *Christianity in Independent Africa*, pp.136-150.
14. Elizabeth Isichei, 'Does Christianity empower women? The case of the Anaguta of Central Nigeria', typescript.
15. Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, p.273.
16. *Ibid.*, p.273.
17. *Ibid.*, pp.267-8.
18. Pirouet, *Black Evangelists*, p.197.
19. R. Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (London 1990), p.84.
20. *Ibid.*, p.84.

APPENDIX 1

Members of Kumanyana Movement as given in the Rev. Eliyakimu Kamujanduzi's personal file in 1954

(Kamujanduzi was the treasurer of the movement for that year)

1. Roman Catholics

	Name	Home county
1.	Petero Galubungo	Bunyaruguru
2.	Mariko Tibiribomwe	Bunyaruguru
3.	Paulo Kamiiri	Ibanda
4.	Alifunsi Kanyankore	Ibanda
5.	Tarasisiyo Bataringaya	Ibanda
6.	Girigori Mashunju	Ibanda
7.	George Ntaama	Rwampala
8.	Isirayiri Ntendere	Rwampara
9.	Losiyo Katatumba	Rwampara
10.	Mariko Rwampeho	Buhweju
11.	Andereya Tindamanyire	Kashari
12.	Kabeireho	Igara (only one name given)
13.	Semeo Kashaija	Sheema
14.	Zaveriyo Tibayungwa	Isingiro

2. Native Anglican Christians (Protestants)

	Name	*Home county*
1.	Kesi Ngannwa	Sheema
2.	Costantine Katiiti	Sheema
3.	Keizironi Buziro	Sheema
4.	Yowasi Makaaru	Sheema
5.	Lagani Tibekiinga	Sheema
6.	Erinesiti Nkakaire	Sheema
7.	Sezi Gunula	Sheema
8.	Zekariya Mungonya	Ibanda
9.	Lazaro Nyakatukura	Ibanda
10.	Isirayiri Katundu	Ibanda
11.	Yona Kategaya	Ibanda
12.	Semei Kashenya	Ibanda
13.	Petero Kaseeta	Rwampara
14.	Nekemiya Bananuka	Rwampara
15.	Beyanga	Rwampara (only one name)
16.	Laaki	Rwampara (only one name)
17.	Perezi Muheirwohe	Rwampara
18.	Yonesani Yaawe	Rwampara
19.	Tefuro Katomize	Rwampara
20.	Musa Kunaga	Kashari
21.	Mirama	Kashari (only one name given)
22.	Tito Rwambugo	Kashari

23.	Yafesi Busaasi	Isingiro
24.	Edward Kasiisi	Isingiro
25.	Paulo Basimwa	Nyabushozi
26.	Erika Kihika	Nyabushozi
27.	Sulumani Katukura	Igara
28.	James Kahigiriza	Igara
29.	Firipo Rwagusyagara	Igara
30.	Eldard Muntuyera	Kajara

3. Muslims

J. Rwari from Sheema.

GLOSSARY OF VERNACULAR TERMS IN FREQUENT USE

I. District	Language	People	
		Singular	Plural
Nkore (pre-colonial)) Ankole (colonial))	Runyankore	Munyankore (Mwiru, Muhima)	Banyankore Bairu, Bahima
Buganda	Luganda	Muganda	Baganda
Bunyoro	Runyoro	Munyoro	Banyoro
Toro	Rutoro	Mutoro	Batoro

In the singular, all nouns concerning the language and the people can be preceded by an 'o' and in plural by an 'a'.

II. Titles of kings

Ankole	Omugabe
Buganda	Kabaka
Bunyoro	Omukama
Toro	Omukama

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ORAL INFORMANTS

Bacwayo, Beatrice (born about 1923).
Interviewed at her home Nyakwebundika Kigarama on 19th August 1990. Joined the Revival in 1955. A keen member of the Mothers' Union.

Bagambana, James (born 1919).
Interviewed at Kyagaju Sheema on 17th May 1990. Ex-carpenter and builder. Ex-member of the Eishengyero.

Bakamwanga, the Rev. Kesi (born about 1912).
Interviewed at his home Nkongoro Nyabihoko on 3rd August 1989. Did not have any formal western education. Learnt how to read and write from the Catechumen classes. His reading being so good, the Rev. L. Tibesaasa made him a catechist at Mahwa in 1936. Joined the Revival 1939. Lay reader 1959, deacon 1967, priest 1969.

Banyoya, Losiyo (born about 1921).
Interviewed at Nyamitanga Mbarara on 5th June 1989. Ex-teacher, retired journalist for *Ageteraine*, Roman Catholic newspaper.

Baryaruha, the Rev. Erimonsi (born 1930).
Interviewed at Kitunga High School on 18th July 1989. Teacher 1958, tutor 1961, principal 1971. Deacon 1974, priest 1975.

Beyaka, Faith (born 1923).
Teacher at Ibanda 1948, at Bweranyangi Girls' Boarding School 1955-73. Headmistress of the latter school 1974-84, being the first African to be head.

Binaisa, the Rev. Canon Lazalo (born about 1899).
Interviewed at St. Francis Chapel, Makerere University, Kampala on 30th June 1990. Volunteered to go to Sudan as a catechist in 1915. Ordained a deacon in 1924 and a priest in 1926. Served in the churches in the county of Singo in Buganda until retirement.

Binuzire, Amos (born about 1920).
Interviewed at his home at Nyabubare Kigarama. A prosperous *Matooke* (green banana) grower. Ex-polygamist, had two wives and sent away one of them on joining the Revival in 1958.

Bishaka, Noame (born 1922).
Interviewed at her home Ruhoko Ibanda on 9th July 1990. Joined the Revival in 1948. Teacher at Mbarara Boarding School for Girls and at Bweranyangi Girls' Boarding School 1953-68. An active member and leader of Mothers' Union from the village level to the diocesan level.

Brown, Bishop Leslie (born 1912).
Written communication from him at his home in Cambridge on 28th May 1992. Bishop of Uganda 1953-60, Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Boga Zaire 1961-66.

Bugingo, Elesi (date of birth not known, but married in 1922).
Interviewed at her home at Rwabutura Kagango on 11th May 1990. A widow of a catechist, Erisa Bugingo who pioneered churches at various places in Ankole such as Bugongi, Ruhama and Itegyero.

Buringuriza, Rosiyo (born about 1918).
Interviewed at his home Kanyamtambara Nyarweshama on 12th May 1990. Ex-teacher, ex-member of the Eishengyero.

Buziro, Kezironi (born about 1903).
Interviewed on 4th July 1989 at his home Kagango in Sheema. Ex-teacher and sub-county chief. A page to Mbaguta at Kitojo, sent to school by Mbaguta in 1914. He was one of the founding members for the Kumanyana movement. As a teacher and sub-county chief, he worked in many places in Ankole: Ibanda, Kabwohe, Kitunga, Mbarara, Kyamate and Kabira.

Habukwatsizo, Yokana (born about 1906).
Interviewed at his home at Rwenkuba in Kashari on 21st June 1990. Rich in cattle with more than 200 of them. Did not have any formal western education of his own but his children did, and one of them, Dr. Enoka Rukare, is a Professor of Education at Makerere University. Married according to traditional custom and was baptised in 1948.

Itima, the Rev. Canon Blasio (born about 1913).
Interviewed at his home Nshogi Kigarama on 6th June 1990. Catechist 1939, joined the Revival 1941. Lay reader 1949, deacon 1960, priest 1962, archdeacon 1978. Retired 1984.

Kabakyenga, James (born 1917).
Interviewed at Bweranyangi on 25th August 1989. Assistant Agricultural Officer. One of the founders of Banyankore Kweterana Growers Co-operative Union in 1958.

Kabampene, Erica (born about 1926).
Interviewed at his home Koga Kyantamba on 16th June 1989. Retired headmaster. An active member of Uganda Peoples Congress during the party political era.

Kabogoza, Yemima (born about 1914).
Interviewed at her home Mitooma Ruhimda on 14th July 1989. Teacher at Mbarara Boarding School for Girls 1938. Joined the Revival in 1942. A keen member of the Mothers' Union.

Kafureka, Aida (born about 1906).
Wife of Christopher Kafureka. Interviewed 11th July 1989. Teacher 1934, headmistress of Kabwohe Girls School 1948.

Kafureka, Christopher (born 1902).
Interviewed at his home Kitohwa Mushanga on 11th July 1989. One of the pioneers of Mbarara High School in 1912. County Chief of Kajara 1931, *Kihimba* (Assistant Prime Minister) of Ankole 1939, County Chief of Sheema 1944-61.

Kagwisagye, Yosamu (born about 1926).
Interviewed at Bushenyi on 27th June 1990. Retired clerk.

Kahigiriza, James (born 1918).
Interviewed at his home Igayaza Isingiro 15th July 1990. County Chief 1955, *Enganzi* of Ankole 1963-67, and was the last to hold that office for it was abolished with Ankole's monarchy in 1967.

Kakudidi, Edward (born about 1905).
Interviewed at his home Kazo Nyabushozi 10th July 1989. Joined the Revival in 1936 at Mbarara. Catechist in Nyabushozi 1937. One of the *Balokole* students expelled from Mukono in 1941. Back to Nyabushozi as lay reader in 1942, deacon 1960, priest 1962.

Kakyegyema, Tefuro (year of birth not known, about 85 years old).
Interviewed at his home Lugazi Kyagwe in Buganda on 25th May 1989. An immigrant from Ankole who finally settled in Buganda in 1958.

Kamomo, Samwiri (born 1910).
Interviewed at his retail shop at Ruharo Mbarara on 25th May 1990. Clerk 1937, Ankole's Treasurer 1954, retail shopkeeper 1965.

Kamugisha, Christopher (born about 1930).
Interviewed at his home Kikagate Isingiro on 30th June 1989. Primary school teacher.

Kamujanduzi, the Rev. Eliakimu (born 1905).
Interviewed at his home Kakiika Kyamugorani, Mbarara on 29th July 1990. A page to Mbaguta. School teacher 1928, deacon 1946, priest 1948, rural dean 1957. Renowned for his strong views on the Bairu's emancipation and for providing a spiritual influence on the Bairu-Bahima redefinition of their ethnic relations.

Kamya, Monica (born about 1916).
Interviewed at her home Kagamba Ihunga on 20th August 1989. Teacher at Mbarara Boarding School for Girls 1944. Dismissed for being pregnant outside marriage in 1948. Joined the Revival in 1961, and re-joined teaching in 1963.

Kananura, John (born 1927).
Interviewed at his retail shop at Kabwohe Trading Centre in Sheema on 11th May 1990. Ex-teacher and tutor. At college, his subjects were Language and Music. He was interested in the vernacular language and in the traditional songs and music.

Kaniora, Yosiya (born about 1905).
Interviewed at his home Rweichumu Kigarame on 17th July 1990. Catechist. Joined the Revival in 1937. A dairy cattle farmer.

Karokora, Nasani (born about 1918).
Interviewed at his home Nyakabira Kigarama. Retired catechist. Joined the Revival in 1942.

Karukiiko, Gerosomu (born 1917).
Interviewed at his home Nyamiyaga Mushanga on 14th July 1989. Assistant Agricultural Officer 1943. Instrumental in the establishment of coffee nurseries at Rwenshama in Sheema, Nyabikurungu in Bunyaruguru, Bugamba in Rwampara, and Nyabuhikye in Ibanda.

Karutija, Esiteri (born during the year when Galt was murdered, 1905).
Interviewed at her home at Kagongo in Ibanda on 2nd August 1990. Ex-*omurangi* (diviner). Married according to traditional custom, underwent all the *emandwa* initiation ceremonies and was not baptised until 1958, the year she also joined the Revival movement.

Katebaka, Andereya (born during the war of the *Bagirimani* (Germans) about 1916-18).
Interviewed at his home at Rwabutura Kagango on 5th August 1989. Ex-teacher. Joined the Revival while he was a student at Mbarara High School in 1936, one of the first batch of Banyankore to do so.

Kikatsi, Erica (born about 1920).
Interviewed at his home Rwemihambo Ndebo on 18th June 1990. Clerk 1942, *Muruka* chief 1951, sub-county chief 1966. Retired 1974.

Kituna, the Rev. Canon Eliasaph (born about 1920).
Interviewed at Rwabutura Kagango on 3rd June 1989. Retired archdeacon. Catechist 1938, lay reader 1953, deacon 1965, priest 1967, archdeacon 1981. Retired 1987.

Kutura, Elisa (born 1914).
Interviewed at his home Rweyesgera Kaganbgo on 3rd September 1990. Retired catechist. Joined the Revival in 1942.

Kyambu, Musa (born 1910).
Interviewed at his home Karweera Rwentanga on 29th May 1990. Son of Lazaaro Kamugungunu. Clerk 1934, sub-county chief 1943, county chief 1952. Retired 1964.

Kyendugu, Eresi (born 1904).
Interviewed at her home Ryakasinga Shuka on 25th August 1989. Served as school teacher and headmistress.

Majungu, Yowabu (born 1935).
Interviewed at Mbarara on 17th May 1990. Lands Surveyor Officer, Mbarara.

Morris, Dr. F.H. (born 1922).
Interviewed at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London on 7th December 1991. Ex-British administrator in Ankole. District Commissioner of Ankole 1953. Published books and wrote articles about Ankole, the major one being *A History of Ankole*, Kampala: East African Publishing Bureau, 1962.

Motoka, Yoramu (born 1930).
Interviewed at his home Nyakashaka Buheju on 16th July 1990. Tea grower farmer.

Mpaka, Yosiya (born about 1915).
Interviewed at his home Rweibure Kyagyenyi on 16th July 1990. Joined the Revival in 1944, an evangelist and a dairy cattle farmer.

Mubangizi, Benedict (born 1926).
Interviewed on 6th August 1990 at Kitabi Teachers' College in Igaara. Ex-teacher. He has published a number of books on *Kinyankore* customs, the first and most comprehensive of them being *Emicwe Y'ensi omu Banyankore*, Kisubi, Uganda: Marriannum Press, 1963.

Mugimba, Eliezer (born 1908).
Interviewed at his home Ruharo, Mbarara on 16th June 1990. Grandson of *Omukama* Ndagara of Buhweju who was murdered in battle against the British. Teacher of Mbarara High School 1932. Joined the Revival in 1936. One of the *Balokole* students expelled from Mukono in 1941. Lay reader and free evangelist. Bible translator into Runyankore / Rukiga with Stanley Smith 1957.

Muhamya, Erisa (born during the year of the Rinderpest epidemic, about 1919-20).
Interviewed at his home at Ndekye Bunyaruguru on 30th August 1990. Ex-*omufumu* (physician and pharmacologist). Baptised in 1974, joined the Revival in 1989 and in the same year was elected a church warden in the parish at Ndekye.

Muhoozi, the Rev. Canon Eliphaz (born 1928).
Interviewed at his home Komukyera Mushanga on 19th May 1990. Ex-teacher, lay reader 1959, deacon 1963, priest 1965, archdeacon 1971, bible translator 1981.

Murumba, Anania (born 1911).
Son of Maryamu Kacibara, a niece of Nuwa Mbaguta, the first person in Ankole to be baptised by the Anglican mission and the first *Munyankore* woman catechist. Teacher and inspector of schools, sub-county chief 1937, county chief 1940, and Ankole Kingdom Treasurer 1957.

Mutashwera, Alfred (born 1908).
A *Muganda* immigrant to Ankole from Masaka. Assistant African sub-inspector of police at Mbarara 1938, sub-county chief 1942, county chief 1952, magistrate 1954. Retired 1974.

Mutegaya, Erisa (born 1910).
Interviewed at his home Nyanga Nyakashambya on 19th May 1990. Among the first batch of Banyankore to join the Revival at Mbarara in 1936. Supporting staff at Mbarara High School, supplied *matooke* and beans to the school 1954-66. Free evangelist.

Njunwoha, the Rev. Canon Lazaro (born 1923).
Interviewed at his home Bujaga Rwampara on 22nd August 1989. Worked as a catechist, lay reader and priest.

Nyakaraya, Georgina (born about 1910).
Interviewed at her home Mbagwa Kiziba on 29th August 1990. Did not get any formal school education. From the catechumen classes she graduated a catechist 1932. Joined the Revival in 1936.

Nyaishaija, Kosia (born during the year when Prince Igumira was exiled about 1905).
Interviewed at his home Kashaka in Kashari on 20th June 1990. Son of Kamachoko, an important Muhima chief. A retired chief, became a member of the Revival in 1942. Renowned for his ready interaction with the Bairu.

Pain, Clement (born 1915).
Interviewed at his home at Broadway, Cheltenham on 25th February 1992. Headmaster of Mbarara High School 1942-54.

Ruhekura, Rusi (born about 1914).
Interviewed at her home Nyakabira Migina on 15th August 1990. Catechist 1935, joined the Revival 1937.

Rujagata, Timiseo (born 1910).
Interviewed at his home Kateete on 21st May 1990. Joined the Revival in 1937. Ex-teacher. Was one of the *abeishemwe* put in prison in 1939 for disrupting Sunday worship at Ruharo.

Rushegye, Eseza (born 1922).
Interviewed at her home Kabwohe on 12th August 1990. Widow of the Rev. Andereya Rushegye, one of the *Balokole* students expelled from Mukono. Joined the Revival in 1939 before marriage.

Rwabujangari, Yafesi (born at the time when Rugarama, the ruler of Rubare, was driven out by the British, about 1909-10).
Interviewed at Kajara Teachers' College on 12th July 1989. Son of Kirezi of the *Abashambo beene Kihondwa*, the traditional rulers of Kajara. A retired chief.

Rwabutomize, Turufania (born 1919).
Interviewed at her home Kibare Bumbaire on 30th May 1990. Teacher 1939. Joined the Revival in 1940 before marriage, married to Mirisera, a hospital assistant at Mbarara in 1942.

Rwakanuma, Yonasani (born 1912).
Interviewed at his home Bweizibwera on 28th June 1990. Clerk 1937, sub-county chief 1950, county chief 1954. Retired 1969.

Rwamishare, Daniel (born about 1916-18).
Interviewed at his home Kitunga Ihunga on 6th August 1989. Catechist 1944, lay reader 1960. Retired 1979.

Rwamuhare, Daniel (born during the year when Lazaaro Kamugungunu built his residence at Kyagaju having been appointed the ruler of the eastern part of Sheema, about 1904).
Interviewed at his home Katate Kyagaju in Sheema on 12th May 1990. A son of Kagumya, a *Mwiru* tribute collector. One of the first pupils at Kyagaju Literary School in 1913. Became a clerk for Mbaguta at Kitojo in 1921, a parish chief of Mukinga (1932-44), and thereafter a coffee grower and a church warden of Kabwohe parish (1944-74).

Rwamuhare, Yayeri (born about 1906).
Interviewed on 12th May 1990 with her husband Daniel (see above). One of the first two girls at Kyagaju Literacy School in 1913. Ex-teacher, married to Daniel 1923.

Rwankurukumbi, Erica (born during the Rinderpest epidemic about 1919-20).
Interviewed at his home Kacuragyenyi Katooma on 2nd August 1989. Formal education to primary 2. Became a retail trader, church warden, and an honorary lay reader 1959.

Rwankutahi, Eriezari (born 1932).
Interviewed at Rwentanga Bubare on 4th August 1990. Lands Surveyor Field Officer for East Ankole and West Ankole districts.

Sabiti, Geraldine (born 1913).
Interviewed at her home Kinoni Rwampara on 1st August 1989. Widow of Archbishop Erica Sabiti. Joined the Revival in 1936. Active in the Mothers' Union.

Shalita, Bishop Kosia (born 1903).
Interviewed at his home Rwentanga Bubare on 23rd June 1990. Son of an immigrant to Ankole from Rwanda. Ex-teacher, one of the pioneer Anglican missionaries in Rwanda and Burundi. Deacon 1933, priest 1935, assistant bishop of Ankole-Kigezi 1957, bishop of the same 1961. Retired 1969.

Sselujunge, Dauda (born 1916).
Interviewed at his home Rwenkuba Kiziba on 29th August 1990. Ex-*Mwalimu* (Swahili word for teacher but in Ankole refers to a Muslim religious leader). Ex-member of the Eishengyero.

Tibekinga, Labani (born 1906).
Interviewed at his home Rugorogoro Rushozi on 16th August 1989. Catechist 1929 in Nyabushozi. Deacon 1944, priest 1946, rural dean 1957. Renowned for his sympathies for the improvement of the Bairu's social status and for his belief in schools. He encouraged the founding of schools in his rural deanery of Sheema such that Sheema now has the highest number of schools in Ankole.

Tibesaasa, Lazaro (born during the time when the *Omugabe* Kahaya was baptised, about 1902-03).
Interviewed at his home Kyeizooba Igara on 22nd April 1981. (I was then researching for my paper, 'The confrontation of Christianity and Islam in Kagango Sheema, 1880-1980', dissertation for the Makerere University Diploma in Theology, 1981.) Catechist 1921, deacon 1933, priest 1935. A *Mwiru* ordinand in the Anglican Church.

Tiryarenga, Elifazi (year of birth not known; he said that he could remember the war with the Germans for his uncle was taken for the war; at the time he was of an age that would enable him to accompany the older boys who could graze goats).
Interviewed at his home Bujaga Rwampara on 13th July 1989. First went to labour in Buganda when the church at Ruharo was being built in brick 1933-34. His last trip was when King George VI died in February 1952.

Turugurwa, Lazaaro (born at the time when Europeans were beginning to settle at Mbarara, about 1898-1900).
Interviewed at his home Kaberebere Isingiro on 4th July 1990. Page to Mbaguta, *Omugabe* Kahaya's driver 1934-40. Sub-county chief 1941. Retired 1965.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Church Missionary Society Archives (CMSA), Birmingham University Library, Heslop Room: Archive series G.3 A7 (1898-1934), consisting of correspondence between Uganda CMS Mission and the CMS headquarters in London and of original annual letters of individual European missionaries who worked in Ankole (and elsewhere in Uganda).

Church of Uganda Archives (COUA): Located at Makerere University Library, at Namirembe, Ruharo (Mbarara) and Bweranyangi Cathedrals, and at the oldest CMS established centres in Ankole: Kabwohe (Kitojo), Ibanda, Kinoni and Kitunga (Kagamba). Consists of the correspondence of the local church(es), church councils and committee minutes, teachers' records, and baptism registers, confirmation registers, preachers' registers and marriage registers - some of these records have deteriorated.

International Missionary Council Archives (IMCA): Africa 1910-45. Located at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Archive Box 259 on East Africa, Uganda, consisting of correspondence about education in Uganda.

Mbarara Diocese Archives: Located at Ageteraine's Office, Nyamitanga, Mbarare. Consists of Van Spaandonk's manuscripts about the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Ankole, and a complete run of the *Ageteraine* Roman Catholic newspaper in *Runyankore-Rukiga*.

Mbarara District Archives: Located at the District Commissioner's Office, Kamukuzi. Most of the material was destroyed during the 1989 war, only a few files survived.

The Clayton family letters: A collection of private letters written in Ankole by the Rev. Herbert Clayton (one of the CMS missionary pioneers in Ankole) and his wife Hilda (née Turnbull) to their families in England. Kept by their daughters Enid, Margaret and Muriel at their home at Kendal in Cumbria, England.

Uganda Government Archives, Entebbe: Archive series: Class A 24 and A 15. Material about the British colonial administration in Ankole.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

Ageteraine, see archival material above.

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